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Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies is an annual journal devoted to all aspects of Byzantine and modern Greek scholarship. It welcomes research, criticism, contributions on theory and method in the form of articles, critical studies and short notes.

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List of Abbreviations

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
B	<i>Byzantion</i>
BF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i>
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BNJ	<i>Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
BS	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CFHB	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i>
CSCO	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
CSHB	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn)</i>
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique</i>
DIEE	Δελτίον τῆς ἱστορικῆς καὶ ἐθνολογικῆς ἐταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i>
EEBS	Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
EO	<i>Échos d'Orient</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
IRAIK	<i>Izvestija Russkago Arkheologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole</i>
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JGR	J. & P. Zepos, <i>Jus Graecoromanum</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
JÖBG	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft</i>
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>

MPG	J.P. Migne, <i>Patrologia series Graeco-Latina</i>
MPL	J.P. Migne, <i>Patrologia series Latina</i>
OCP	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i>
RE	<i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Pauly-Wissowa)
REB	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
REG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
ROC	<i>Revue de l'Orient Chrétien</i>
VV	<i>Vizantijskij Vremennik</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZRVI	<i>Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta</i>

Editorial Comment

Students of the later period of Byzantine history and culture have long been aware of the need to link their work more closely and more consistently with that of historians of the Ottoman world and of the Turkic cultures with which Byzantine civilisation came into contact. But this has only rarely been possible, requiring as it does familiarity with the relevant languages on both sides of the 'divide', a divide which exists primarily as a result of the ways in which language teaching and research have tended to develop in the western world. The work of scholars such as Beldiceanu and Asdrachas has been important in bridging this divide. There exist, however, other points of contact, points which are themselves part of the history of western scholarship, yet which can provide a valuable starting-point for the study of both Turco-Byzantine contacts as well as more recent Greek-Turkish historical development in general — namely late Ottoman views of the Byzantine world. In this issue, Michael Ursinus presents an important first statement on a potentially extremely interesting project in this area.

Like the relationship between Ottoman/Turkish and Byzantine/Greek history, that between history and art history is also an area in which causal relationships and connections have tended to remain implicit, and this is again the result of the tendency to perceive these two areas as separate and separable disciplines. In the current volume of *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, Robin Cormack challenges some of the assumptions behind this tendency, and points out the need for historians to take visual cultural production more seriously as part of their total framework of explanation; as well as challenging a number of assumptions about method, purpose and approach within the art-historical

disciplines themselves. Informed responses from readers of this journal, which address the central themes in both these and other debates, will be welcomed by the editor.

On a more mundane, but no less important level: sales of the journal. Limited numbers of previous volumes are still available: copies of Vols. 1 (1975), 5 (1979), 7 (1981) and 9 (1984/5) can be ordered from: The Secretary, Centre for Byzantine Studies and Modern Greek, University of Birmingham, P.O. Box 363, Birmingham B15 2TT, at a cost of £5.00 each (but £2.00 for *new* subscribers!). This offer expires on June 30th 1987.

The Poverty of Écriture and the Craft of Writing: Towards a Reappraisal of the Prodromic Poems*

MARGARET ALEXIOU

It is the purpose of this paper to challenge some traditional assumptions about authorship and style in twelfth-century Byzantium, and to present a new, if tentative, interpretation of the fourth Prodromic Poem, which may have important implications for an understanding of literary perceptions of every-day life in twelfth-century Constantinople, as well as for the ways in which texts can be read.

1. The Author

All four Prodromic Poems present an apparent paradox, which is by no means unique. Probably our richest 'low-style' source of information from the twelfth century, they are consistently, if not quite unanimously, attributed by the manuscript tradition

* This paper is presented as 'work in progress' in the fullest sense of the term: originally delivered to the Literary Panel of the Seventeenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies ('Life and Death in Byzantium', University of Birmingham, March 1983), it now incorporates, inevitably, much of the collective work done during the course of the academic year 1983/4 by staff and postgraduate members of the Byzantine Text Seminar (Centre for Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham), which is preparing for publication a translation, glossary and full commentary of the four poems. Work on the fourth is nearing completion. In the meantime the convener of the Seminar wishes to put on record some of her ideas which first generated interest in the text, as well as our current findings. Acknowledgements for specific items of research are made in footnotes (by asterisked names) insofar as possible; however, this article could not have been completed without team work. As always, the author retains sole responsibility for errors.

to Theodore Prodromos.¹ Known prolific writer for the Comnenian court of prose and verse texts of diverse genres and styles, his undisputed compositions are written in extreme or modified forms of learned Greek, with frequent use of several classical metres; none is in the vulgar Greek, combined with *politikos stichos* (fifteen-syllable accentual verse), of our four poems.² The question arises, could Theodore Prodromos have written them? Or does the use of popular language, in addition to what editors and most critics assume to be inconsistencies, repetitions and glaring contradictions, preclude such an established and acclaimed writer from authorship of a work so far 'beneath his dignity'?³ What makes the picture more complex, Theodore Prodromos is also considered a likely contestant, along with the front-running Nikolaos Kallikles, for the authorship of the *Timarion*, a high-style Lucianic dialogue, which, as has been argued elsewhere, ironically subverts certain aristocratic manners and ideals, while affording a wealth of insight into twelfth-century Constantinopolitan society.⁴ Is it conceivable that the same person could have written two such seemingly different kinds of text?

1. D.C. Hesseling and H. Pernot, *Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire* (Amsterdam 1910) 10-22. The attribution in the titles to Poem III in mss CSA to one 'Hilarion Ptochoprodromos', a monk, together with the name 'Hilarion' as the narrating persona in the text (III.387), has misled some literal-minded Byzantinists into postulating the 'real' existence of such a person as author of this poem, see M. Hatzidakis, *IV* 4 (1897) 100-27, and S. Papadimitriu, *ibid.* 5 (1898) 92-130, whose proliferation of a sub-species of Prodromic *personae* goes so far as to count both 'Hilarion Ptochoprodromos' and '(Theodore) Ptochoprodromos' as authors separate from the 'real' Theodore Prodromos. Hesseling — Pernot (1910) 91-130, H.G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* (Munich 1971) 103-4, and W. Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos: historische Gedichte* (Vienna 1974) 65-7, rightly consider the attribution of Poem III to 'Hilarion' to be a misunderstanding of the copyists. Jacopone da Todi's use of the name 'Hilarion' in the satirical context of an impoverished monk might usefully be explored, see P. Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric* (Hutchinson 1978) 216. A similar, if more grotesque, bogus attribution is cited by Beck (1971) 176 n.1, from the fifteenth-century Vienna manuscript of the unrhymed poem, *Synaxarion tou Gadarou*, glossed by P. Lambrius as 'De quodam Gadaro sanctitatis vitae claro'!

2. For the most recent summaries and discussions of Theodore Prodromos' works, certain and disputed, see Hörandner (1974) 37-78 and A. Kazhdan, *Studies on Byzantine literature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Cambridge 1984) 87-114.

3. The arguments on authorship have hitherto rested almost exclusively on style, language and metre. The details and principles are summarised in Appendix I. The Birmingham Text Seminar, while devoting no more than an Appendix to the question, would wish to keep the debate open.

4. Pseudo-Luciano, *Timarione*, ed. R. Romano (Naples 1974); see also M. Alexiou, 'Literary subversion and the aristocracy in twelfth-century Byzantium: a stylistic

The question raises some fundamental problems of methodology and approach. First, can authorship be determined according to objective criteria, whether linguistic, metrical, stylistic, biographical or historical? Or is there a danger of imposing modern concepts of authorship and of linguistic or stylistic unity upon twelfth-century texts? Second, is the dichotomy between 'high' and 'low' styles so absolute as has been assumed? Were they perhaps determined by genre and context rather than by the educational level of the individual author?

The first question has implications beyond the authorship of the four Prodromic poems. Michel Foucault has argued convincingly, albeit in general and theoretical terms, that both the concept and function of the 'author' have changed radically from antiquity and the middle ages to the present day, more particularly since the Renaissance.⁵ In the case of a substantial number of Byzantine texts, both learned and vernacular, which have been transmitted anonymously or dubiously, sometimes in differing versions, the attempt to fit an author to the text is demonstrably the work of subsequent scribes and scholars. Medieval tradition was content to ascribe authorship of any work which became famous to the most prominent exponent of the genre, as with those later hymn-writers who wove the acrostich ROMANOS THE MELODIST into their *kontakia* as a tribute to the master's genius.⁶ Traditional attribution of a name to a work is no proof

analysis of the *Timarion*, chapters 6-10', 8 (1982/3) 29-45, and B. Baldwin, *Timarion. Byzantine Texts in Translation* (Detroit 1984).

5. M. Foucault, 'What is an author?', in *Textual Strategies*, ed. J.V. Harari (Cornell 1979) 141-60. The implications for dubiously transmitted Byzantine texts are noted by Alexiou (1982/3) 30-31 n.4. *G. Calofonos has cogently argued the relevance of Foucault's case to dream-books, anonymously composed, but later authenticated by attribution to specific persons. D. Lodge, 'Milan Kundera, and the idea of author in modern criticism', *Critical Quarterly* 26.1/2 (1984) 105-21, has recently challenged the rejection by R. Barthes and M. Foucault of the concept of 'author'.

6. Romanos the Melodist, *Cantica dubia*, edd. P. Maas and C.A. Trypanis (Berlin 1970); see also E. Wellesz, *The Akathistos Hymn*, in *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* 9 (Copenhagen 1957). Problems of authorship are by no means restricted to vernacular and religious texts: the date and authorship of the learned tragedy, *Christos Paschon*, probably twelfth century but attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus, remain open, see A. Tuilier, *Grégoire de Nazianze: la Passion de Christ, tragédie*, in *Sources chrétiennes* no. 149 (Paris 1969) for a summary of the evidence, and for a pro-fourth-century case. *Contra*, see evidence cited and summarised by R. Macrides, 'Poetic justice in the Patriarchate. Murder and Cannibalism in the Provinces,' *Cupido Legum* (Frankfurt am Main 1985) 167.

of authorship; nor does lack of attribution necessarily indicate oral composition, or a phase of oral transmission.⁷ In the case of Theodore Prodromos, the fact that subsequent tradition accredits him with authorship of our poems may be less relevant than the fact that the chronology of dateable elements in the poems is not inconsistent with that of his life, if Kazhdan's revised, and well-substantiated, dates for his birth (around 1100) and death (late 1160's or early 1170's), are accepted.⁸ One thing is certain: neither the historian nor the literary critic can afford to wait until the drear question of authorship is solved before analysing the text, since, in the absence of new data, only close studies and comparison with other contemporary material can yield results.

A further point relevant to the question of authorship needs to be clarified at the outset: in dealing with a literary text, care should be taken to distinguish between author and ego-narrator.⁹ This elementary observation needs re-stating in view of persistent claims that, since each of the four poems assumes a different narrating *persona*, they cannot be the work of the same writer; or that Theodore Prodromos can be excluded on the grounds that, at the probable date of composition of the fourth poem, he would have been too old to be a student!¹⁰ Why assume that twelfth-century writers were less astute than ourselves in the structuring of their narratives and in the manipulation of narrative perspectives? In each of the four poems, the narrator adopts an exaggerated social position: (I) hen-pecked husband married above his social class; (II) impoverished father of a family of thirteen; (III) poor monk abused by abbot; (IV) destitute writer. The four cases are literary, not literal.

The second question — how absolute is the dichotomy between 'high' and 'low' literature? — perhaps needs redefining, since

7. See M.J. Jeffreys, 'The literary emergence of vernacular Greek', *Mosaic* 8 (1974) 171-93, and H. and N. Eideneier, 'Leser oder Hörerkreis? zur byzantinischen Dichtung in der Volkssprache', *Ellenika* 34 (1982/3) 119-50. No firm conclusions may be drawn.

8. Kazhdan (1984) 92-104 examines in detail the life and works of Theodore Prodromos and 'Ptocho-Prodromos', noting the remarkable coincidences of historical and social circumstance, which outweigh statistical analyses of language and metrics.

9. See G. Genette, *Narrative Discourse* (Blackwell 1980) 213-4. The relevance of the distinction for the *Timarion* has already been argued by Alexiou (1982/3) 29-45. For the Prodromic poems, Kazhdan is among the few to argue correctly that they are 'genre exercises, and their supposed "authors" are no more than literary personae', (1984) 91.

10. The argument is posed, hypothetically, by Beck (1971) 104.

it presupposes that there is a valid *literary* distinction between texts in differing stylistic and linguistic registers. It is more relevant to examine how 'reality' is perceived and presented in fictive terms. Some traditional questions should be discarded, or inverted. Instead of asking, for example, 'who is the author?', 'What do we know of when, where or why he wrote the text?', 'What is genuine and what can be interpolated in the manuscript tradition?', it is possible to enquire, 'How is the narrative structured, and from what perspectives?', 'What traditional *topoi* are employed, and how are they handled?', 'What allusions to other texts are made, and to what effects?', 'What historically dateable elements exist, and how can they be related to the dominant trends, or myths, of the time?' These questions dictate that, for the present at least, the text is accepted as edited, with all its variant readings, and that judgement is suspended regarding its naive and discursive nature (according to present-day 'high' standards of realism and logic). Close analysis and extensive research along these lines can render this and other texts more, not less, accessible to modern readers.¹¹

2. The Text

According to its editors, the text of the four poems is in a deplorable condition, posing every conceivable problem of date, authorship, authenticity, unity, relationship to other Prodromic texts.¹² Yet no fewer than seven manuscripts survive, dating from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Poems I and II are extant in one and two manuscripts respectively (G and GH), both described as 'unreliable'; Poems III and IV survive in six and five (H, CSA, gV and G, CSA, g).¹³ All contain interpolations, none is uncontaminated, hence no stemma can be constructed, and therefore (according to traditional principles) no reliable text can be established. The editors frequently dismiss large sections as unsound, mainly on grounds of inappropriate style, content and

11. Our Text Seminar has striven to steer a narrow course between the Scylla of circular arguments based on philological, metrical and historical *minutiae*, and the seductive Charybdis of structuralist and post-structuralist theories, which tend to dismiss all history (and archaeology) as 'literary texts', thereby comfortably justifying any lack of reference to historical time or context.

12. See Hesselung — Pernot (1910) 10-24.

13. *Ibid.* 84-103.

structure.¹⁴ Therefore (the logic is inscrutable) the poems cannot be attributed firmly, on the basis of the manuscript tradition, either to one person (let alone to Theodore Prodromos) or to the twelfth century *in toto*. Inconclusive evidence should not, however, permit circular argument. Either we follow the advice of the textual critics and deny that reliable use can be made of the text, or we avert the predatory but 'dead hand of classicism' by accepting the text, with all its imperfections and variant readings, as the only extant, and therefore relevant, form of four remarkable poems, the fourth certainly composed between the years 1160 and 1204, and probably dateable, at least in part, to the early 1170's. The original, 'authorial' version may be irrecoverable; ours has at least been validated by subsequent tradition. The earliest manuscript (G), containing Poems I, II and IV, belongs to the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, proving, according to the editors, reliable for IV but not for I and II. Does this suggest G's use of earlier models, pointing to a textual tradition established in the thirteenth century, or is it a case of later *contaminatio*? Judging from the number and distribution of extant manuscripts, Poems III and IV seem to have enjoyed wider circulation than I and II, possibly passing through a stage of oral transmission.¹⁵ Speculation that the four poems were originally composed, perhaps by Theodore Prodromos, in learned Greek, and subsequently rendered into the vernacular by a Prodromic school of poets, can be neither proved nor disproved.¹⁶ No trace of a learned original, or of a school of poets, has so far come to light.

3. Narrative Structure

The text of Poem IV opens problematically, with a fulsome proem addressed to the Emperor Manuel I in liturgical vein (see Appendix II for translation of all four proems). Absent from the

14. *Ibid.*

15. The case is argued in detail by Eideneier (1982/3) 119-50, on the grounds that some of the variant readings in the manuscripts can be explained as oral rather than as purely scribal changes. A further possibility, proposed by R.A. Fletcher in relation to *Digenes Akrites*, should be investigated: that differences between extant versions derive from scribal mangling or aural mishearing rather than to 'genuine' oral tradition, see *Mandatoforos* 8 (May 1976) 8-9. For a more general reassessment of the problem, see F.H. Bäuml, 'Medieval texts and the two theories of oral-formulaic composition: a proposal for a third theory', *New Literary History* 16.1 (1984) 31-49.

16. Hörandner (1974) 66.

oldest manuscript (G), it is found in brief form in g (fifteenth century), and more fully in CSA (fifteenth, fourteenth and sixteenth centuries).¹⁷ The presence of a proem is justified structurally both by the closing epilogue, also addressed to Manuel (lines 274-92), and by the existence in a majority of witnesses of an opening and closing address to the patron in each of the three other poems.¹⁸ Further, even this supposedly later interpolation can be shown to contain elements dateable to before the year 1176.¹⁹ It should be noted that each of the four proems differs markedly in tone and style from the rest of the poems, and that each contains playfully personal allusions to the poverty of the writer and wealth of his patron, as he begs indulgence for his vulgar language; it would therefore be rash to dismiss the fourth proem on grounds of style alone, although problems of textual variation remain.

The narrator then proceeds (or opens) with his well-known cautionary advice, couched in the familiar Byzantine *topos* of a father's words of wisdom to his son:²⁰

Ever since I was a lad, my father used to tell me,
 'I learn letters, boy, and there'll be no-one like you.
 You see that man there, child, he used to walk on foot,
 now he rides a fat mule with double leather straps.
 While he was learning, he wore no shoes at all,
 and now, look at him, he wears long pointed ones.
 While he was learning, he never combed his hair,
 now he is well groomed, with prize-curved locks.
 While learning, he never glimpsed the bath-gates,
 but now he takes a bath three times a week.
 His belt-fold used to swell with lice the size of almonds,
 now it is swell with Manuel's *hyperpyra* (= recently minted gold coins)
 So be persuaded by your old man's fatherly advice,
 and learn your grammar — there'll be no-one like you!
 So I learned my grammar, with a great deal of effort.
 Now that I've become, supposedly, a craftsman,
 I lack both bread and the means of its provision.
 I spit on grammar and I say with tears,

17. Hesselung — Pernot (1910) 30-1 (I.1-26), 38-41 (II.1-25), 48-50 (III.1-32).

18. See Appendix II for a translation of the four proems.

19. See n.57.

20. Similar devices, possibly literary rather than autobiographical, are to be found, for example, in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Caerimoniis*, ed. Reiske (CSHB, Bonn 1829) 3, and Kekaumenos *Strategikon*, edd. B. Wassiliewski and V. Jörnstedt (Amsterdam 1965) 6.

'Christ, down with letters, and with whoever wants them!
 Cursed be the hour and cursed be the day
 when they delivered me unto the school,
 to learn my letters, as though I could live off them!
 Just suppose I'd trained as a gold cloth craftsman,
 like those who work gold filigree, and earn a living,
 if I'd learned the despised craft of gold filigree,
 I could not fail to open up my cupboard, and find it
 filled with bread, copious wine and cooked tunny fish,
 tunny sliced and dried, mackerel large and small.
 Instead, as I now open mine, I see naught but empty space,
 and I see files upon files stuffed with paper.
 I open my bag to reach a crust of bread,
 and I find yet another, smaller file.
 I dig into my pocket, I reach down for my purse,
 looking for a *stamenon* (= small change) — that too is stuffed with paper.
 Having groped around in pockets and all corners,
 I stand dejected and devoid of nerve,
 fainting and losing heart from excessive hunger,
 Rather than extreme hunger and distress,
 filigree work is better than grammar and the text!' (lines 1-39)

In this passage, writing is perceived above all as a craft (*technè*), while the lot of scholar as craftsman (*grammatikos technitēs*) is compared with that of other artisans in the City. The term *technitēs*, originally denoting 'one who fits together; builder; carpenter',²¹ provides the keynote and unifying feature to the whole poem. Learning the craft of writing may mean poverty and filth at first, but, according to the precepts of the older generation, ensures wealth, privilege and fashion in the end. Unfortunately, as things turn out, the despised embroiderers of gold cloth (and other artisans) fare well, while our versifier, in place of bread or ready cash, finds only papers in his pockets. Here, perhaps, is a strong indication, hitherto overlooked, that there is a level of irony in the text: both paper and parchment (the word *charti* can mean either) were valuable commodities in the twelfth century.²²

21. G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans* (Johns Hopkins 1979) 300.

22. Evidence for the scarcity of parchment and paper in the twelfth century is cited by N.G. Wilson, 'Books and readers in Byzantium', in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium, Washington D.C. 1975) 2-4; partly repeated from L.D. Reynolds and N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars* (Oxford 1968) 51-63; Balsamon comments on a canon forbidding the palimpsesting of biblical texts; Michael Choniates complains that the supply of books may fail because shiploads of parchment are sold to the Italians; seasonal supply is indicated by Gregory II of Cyprus (1283-89), who

Our writer's neighbour is a lowly cobbler, not even a proper shoe-maker (*petsōtēs, pseudotsangarēs*); yet he begins each day by ordering his wife to prepare breakfast of tripe (*chordokoilitsa*) and Vlach cheese, washed down by four large mugs of wine (and an extra), before he even begins the day's work. When meal time comes, he instructs his wife to set the table with stew-pot and dishes, putting away his cobbler's awl, strigil and waxed thread (*souglin, sphetlin, sphēkōmata*). A three-course meal ensues, after which all thought of work is abandoned, as the cobbler 'spins out his food' (*klōthei tēn mageirian*), leaving our narrator drooping, with nothing but iambs, spondees and pyrrhics to stave off his 'measureless hunger' (*ametrōn peinan*). Envy of his neighbour's life-style, he tries his luck at cobbling, only to get his right hand (his writing member) drilled by the cobbler's awl. He ends up in hospital for a month (lines 40-89).²³

Other trades are considered. The tailor, hawking his wares around the City with appropriate cries, is lowly, but at least he gets due respect and remuneration from the women, who hail him as 'craftsman' (*deuro, technita, deuro*) (lines 90-96). If only he were a baker, or a baker's boy, he could count on his fill of early morning *prophournia* (flat loaves made from left-over, unrisen dough, or *pitta*-bread). Only the other day he passed the bakery to find the baker's wife chewing the end of a crisp white loaf made from semolina flour (a baguette?), refusing him even the promise of a nibble. Dashing into the next side-street, he finds the yogurt seller (*oxygalatas*), calling out something like 'Take

notes that he cannot have a text of Demosthenes copied until spring, when people begin to eat meat and parchment is available (before selective breeding only 8 pages can be expected from each animal); John Tzetzes complains of lack of *charti* in the capital in the twelfth century, commenting on Aristophanes *Frogs* 843: *tous chartas*, 'which may be taken as meaning parchment or as a generic term for paper and parchment', Wilson (1975) 2. There is no evidence that paper, supposedly introduced by the Arabs from China via Samarkand after 768, was either cheaper, or more plentiful, than parchment at the time in question. Prices are hard to calculate, but parchment might have cost roughly 50 ff. per nomisma (*A.A.M. Bryer). A comparable irony may underlie the impoverished father's complaints in Poem II, whose desiderata among 'basic foodstuffs' include some spices and condiments which must have cost a small fortune at the time (II.36-45G, 37a-45a H).

23. *eis ton xenōna* IV.89, cf. III.334a (H,CSA). Ph. Koukoules, *Byzantinon Bios kai Politismos* (Athens 1948-1955) I.130, 131f, 141, adduces other evidence for the word as 'hospital' as well as 'guest house'; see also M.J. Kyriakis, 'Poor poets and starving literati in twelfth-century Byzantium', *B* 44 (1974) 305-6.

a pot of frothy white stuff, ladies'. He is soon sold out, with money in his purse. Even the cloth-dyers and cloth-carriers get rewarded at the end of their working day by a big helping of hot-pot (*mertikon ek ta laparimaia*) and a mug of wine. The humblest sellers and hawkers of wares, including pepper-grinders, can sell their wares to the womenfolk (lines 97-129).

The first narrative section is rounded off by a brief comparison with the writer-craftsman's neighbour on the other side, a sieve-maker (*koskinas*): through the narrow partition which separates their dwellings he can see, hear and smell the hot crackle of roasting meat and fish, plentifully laid out (*keimena*) on the charcoal. He is refused a share, and told to eat his *grammata*. Faint from hunger, he appeals once more to the Emperor's mercy, praying that he may keep the sceptre of imperial rule.²⁴ Among the craftsmen of the City, everyone else has money in his purse, or can exchange services for food and drink; only our versifier has nothing to sell and nothing to eat but letters (lines 130-144).

The next section introduces an apparent digression (lines 145-62). Warned that his habitual swearing, enforced by poverty, will result in eternal damnation, he explains to the Emperor (*kosmokratōr*) that he already, in his present life, suffers triple Hell:

On account of my poverty I swear a lot,
and people tell me, 'Take care, don't speak too much,
or after death you will be condemned
to the sleepless worm, to Tartaros, to darkness'.
But I, my world-ruler, am damned to these three
torments here and now, before my death:
poverty I regard as the sleepless worm,
which ever eats into and devours me.
As for Tartaros, I suffer now my death of cold,
from the icy winter, with nothing to put on,
and without anything to wear I shiver greatly.
Again, as to darkness, lord, I call it dizziness,
which is always with me, emperor, when I have no bread,
for without anything to eat, I get dizzy and fall down.
Here, then, is unlit darkness, Tartaros, and worm.

The unsleeping worm (*akoimētos skōlex*) has eaten him down to the bone; *Tartaros* has taken its shivering hold of his naked and penniless state, without a stitch (clever triple pun on *Tartaros*,

24. See especially lines 141-4. The perfective aspect of *kratēsēs*, in juxtaposition with *kratiste*, suggests a veiled irony.

tourtourizō and *tarteron*): while *Skotos* has him in its grip, starving and fainting from want of food (another triple pun on *skotos*, *skotasmos* and *skotizomai*). He is as good as dead. Another timely address, somewhat ambivalently to Christ as 'saviour of mortals' (*Christos mou brotosōstēs*) begs deliverance through imperial beneficence.²⁵ Our narrator, at least, has nothing worse to fear in afterlife . . . (lines 145-62).

Another apparent digression follows, as the narrator reports to the 'mighty-ruling Emperor of the four climates of the earth' (*kratarcha basileu tessarōn gēs klimatōn*) a recent event pertaining to his latest visit to the parental home. He found the table laid with the most delicious hunk of fat, smoked *apakin* (a kind of salami sausage, probably similar to *pastourma*),²⁶ but was excluded from partaking of the meal, on the grounds that he could buy his own food. At this juncture, a noise from the cellar drew the company (who feared divine retribution, it seems) downstairs, whereupon the narrator devours the *apakin*, taking care to set the cat on the table as scapegoat, and joins the family downstairs. They return, stone the cat to death, realising too late who was the real culprit. At least the dishes needed no washing (lines 163-201). The point is that the father's initial promise of wealth and privilege has been totally undermined.

Lack of bread means lack of appetisers (*prosphan*); lack of both means lack of recollections, hence the narrative sequence may be disturbed (lines 201-5). Addressing now not the Emperor, or Christ, but Hunger, our narrator declares that the only true philosopher, rhetor and calligrapher is the craftsman assured of cash or bread. Despite his learning, from Homer to Libanios and Oppian, he is confronted with nothing but Hunger's snarling fangs and wrinkled folds. If, on the other hand, he had trained as a baker, he might have enjoyed unrisen bread (*prophournia*), satiety, and a good day, with a 'difference' — *diaphoroteritsin* — to his credit, (lines 206-66).

25. See especially lines 160-2. The appeal, directed to Christ acting through Manuel's beneficence, is couched in terms which can scarcely be refused.

26. The definitions given by E. Kriaras, *Lexiko mesaionikēs ellēnikēs demōdous gram-mateias* (Thessaloniki 1968) and in the *Historikon Lexikon tēs Akadēmias Athēnōn* (Athens 1933-) are not precise; however, the fact that it is smoked (*akropaston*), with two sides, i.e. with a kind of skin? (*sympleuron*), and coated in fat (*syllardon*) suggests some kind of smoked sausage. See below, n.35, on obscene connotations of *apakin* and its ancient comic equivalents; also n.39 on the joys of stolen food.

Our penniless scholar takes again to the City's streets, led by his nostrils to the butcher's shop. Excessive — not to say suggestive — flattery of the butcher's wife earns him the promise of a meal, which proves, on second mouthful, to be belly-meat (*lapara*), stuffed with shit, than which even his ink would have been more palatable (lines 227-57).

His next appeal is to 'Kappa', his rotten old cloak, but also the tenth letter of the Greek alphabet, and, more significantly, a term used for a small chapel for private prayer and worship.²⁷ The Vlach woman who wove you, he observes to his *kappa*, sealed into the fate of your owner tears, groans and hunger. Even on high days and holidays, he is excluded from Church on account of his disreputable appearance, so he has recourse only to his dilapidated home, where he snuggles into his *kappa*, whose charms prove irksome: at midnight he is awoken by lice, which cause him to scratch and scrunch until he is blood-red from head to toe (lines 258-74). And so straight into the closing address to Manuel I, 'rose from the purple offshoot of the Komnenoi, / emperor of emperors and ruler of rulers'. The juxtaposition of the words *olokokkinon* ('fully red'), used for his lice-bitten state, and *komnēnoblaston apo porphyras rodon*, used for Manuel's imperial majesty, suggests a deliberate contrast between the narrator's poverty and his patron's wealth, possibly also with allusive reference to the complex tetraugust metaphor and play on the figure four, so prominent in the proem, and to an associated prophecy, current since the birth of the future Alexios II, which is based on the four-letter word AIMA ('blood'), according to which the Comnenes would rule so long as the initial letters of the emperors' names spelled the word A-I-M-A.²⁸ His final appeal

27. The many uses of the word *capa* (or *cappa*), from personal garment to clerical vestment and small place of worship, are listed in Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis* (Leyden 1688, repr. Paris 1943) s.v., 118-9. From it derives the word 'chapel' (*Z. Gavrilović). The play on meanings is important, since it links the seemingly unconnected themes of cloak, exclusion from public worship and resource to private prayer. For lice, see below, nn.28 and 38.

28. The sequence runs: Alexios I (1081-1118), Ioannes II (1118-43), Manuel I (1143-80), Alexios II (1180-83), Andronikos I (1183-85); for the prophecy, see Niketas Choniates 169.91-5, ed. I. A. Van Dieten (*CFHB*, Berlin 1975). I owe this information to the kindness of M.F. Hendy. The figure four, developed in the closing address of the fourth poem with reference to the four soldier saints, is taken up from the proem, where the tetraugust metaphor is further linked with the motif of the Cross. It is particularly relevant to Manuel's porphyrogenital state, since he is the fourth

to his patron takes the form of a parody of the Lord's Prayer ('deliver me from want, deliver me from penury, / resolve, o emperor, the demands of my creditors'), and an invocation to Manuel's four favourite military saints, Georgios, Demetrios, Tyron and Stratelates, whose images were engraved onto Manuel's coinage.²⁹ All in all, the closing appeal is a subtly playful comment on the significance attached to the concept of blood in the Comnene court, and a bold demand for money.

The narrative, seemingly haphazard, is carefully structured. Between the opening proem and closing address, themes relating to the City's craftsmen are skilfully interspersed with shorter appeals:

PROEM (CSA, g)

Father's promise of wealth and privilege in return for scholar's training(1-14)	
Scholar's lot compared with that of other craftsmen (gold cloth embroiderer, cobbler, tailor) and of artisans and salesmen (baker, yogurt-seller, dyer, weigher and hawker of cloths, pepper-grinder, sieve-maker)	(15-140)
Appeal to Manuel, with prayer for continued success	(141-4)
Scholar's sufferings of Hell's torments in present life	(145-69)
Appeal to Christ, through Emperor	(160-2)
Report to Emperor of recent exclusion from paternal home (initial promise belied)	(163-201)
Detrimental effects of hunger on memory	(202-5)
Appeal to Hunger to go where she belongs (the peasants)	(206-57)
Bakers and butchers rich; scholar excluded even from their scraps(225-57)	
Appeal to Kappa; scholar excluded from Church; return to Kappa — and lice	(258-74)
APPEAL TO MANUEL (as 'rose of purple') and request for money	(274-92)

son, addressed as such *en tois porphyranthesi sou adelphois* by Michael Rhetor, see W. Regel, *Fontes rerum byzantinorum* (St. Petersburg/Leipzig 1892-) VIII. The modes of address range from standard titles to less usual metaphors, all of which can be paralleled in contemporary sources: for Manuel as both 'born in the purple' and 'of Comnene lineage', see, for example, Regel (1892) I, III.41-12 (*ō porphyras blaste* and *ō porphyras augasma*), VI.121.9-10 (*blaste porphyras*), 122.3-4 (*ō kalon basileias anthos*) *J.F. Haldon).

29. See M.F. Hendy *Coinage and money in the Byzantine Empire 1081-1261* (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C. 1969) 111-22, Plates 12-18. The four soldier saints

The poem's structure foregrounds the underlying complaint of the scholar-craftsman: the status of the writer in the twelfth century has been devalued, despite the lavish promises of the previous generation; and, what is more, reduced to a level below that of the common artisan, or of the common street hawker. He has nothing to eat (except for his papers, his metres, stolen foods and shit); nothing to wear (except his Kappa); he is excluded even from Church; while they all live a life of relative luxury. References to the average diet, or income, of artisans, and to his own penury, do not need to be taken literally in order for the basis of his complaint to be understood³⁰: the scholar, who cannot sell his wares on the market, is obliged to beg from his patron (or steal from his father) in order to survive. At a deeper level, perhaps the whole poem can be interpreted as a humorous — but subversive — comment on the Lord's Prayer: he has been denied his 'daily bread' by *all* his 'fathers'.³¹

invoked here balance the winged emperor and Cross motifs of the poem, also engraved on coins (the former from mid- to late thirteenth century), see HENDY (1969) *ibid.* For Manuel's munificence, a recurrent theme of the poem (1c and 1r), see HENDY, *Studies in Byzantine monetary economy* (Cambridge 1984) 199; and for imperial *euergetia*, see H. HUNGER, *Proömium, Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden* (Wien/Graz/Köln 1964) 139-43. Manuel as successful soldier is a favourite Prodicomic *topos*, see sources cited by KAZHDAN (1984) 105-7. Wealth, munificence and military prowess are thus subtly interlinked in an indirect request for money. For possible parody of the Lord's Prayer, see n.31.

30. See KYRIAKIS (1974) 290-309 for a crudely literal interpretation of the author's (*sic*) poverty. KAZHDAN (1984) 104-5 reminds us that the 'autobiographical' information in the vernacular poems should not be taken literally, and itemises what can be reconstructed of Theodore Prodromos' actual lands and properties: he was no pauper.

31. Clear allusion to the Lord's Prayer is made in the closing address to the emperor, see lines 284-6. However, both the formal structure and the persistent message of the whole poem can be read as a commentary on the Lord's Prayer which reinforces the narrator's appeals to the emperor for help. The extent and subtlety of the allusions can best be demonstrated by comparing the text of the Lord's Prayer with parallel passages in the poem:

1. Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς 2. ἀγισθῆτω τὸ ὄνομά σου 3. ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου 4. γεννηθῆτω τὸ θέλημά σου 5. ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς 6. τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δός ἡμῖν σήμερον 7. καὶ ἄφεσις ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἡμῶν 8. ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφιέμεν τοὺς ὀφειλόμενους ἡμῶν 9. καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκαις ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν 10. ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. Ἀμήν.

Line 1: The idea of the emperor as supreme father is projected through the passages where the poet seeks shelter and expects to be heard, protected and comforted (1a-1h, 1a-1p, 1mm-1xx) and 141-2, 160-2, 275-7. The poet seeks refuge in the emperor (the supreme father) from the hardships provoked by his actual father's advice (1-15); he also prays that the emperor might keep his eternal and almighty sway (141-4),

4. Writing and Other Crafts

Before examining some of the possible social and historical aspects of our writer's complaint, some literary and linguistic features implicit in the reference to crafts may be usefully summarised. The sedentary craftsmen (as opposed to street vendors) with whom comparison is made include the gold embroiderer, cobbler and tailor. Each shares with the writer a comparable use of the hand in the exercise of their trade; each has a named working implement (pen and ink, awl, strigil and thread, needle and scissors); and each works with a processed material (paper, cloth and gold, leather, cloth). Each seeks a living (the verbs *gureuō* and *zeto* occur no less than seven and four times respectively throughout the poem); but, while others find their mouths, cupboards and pockets stuffed with goodies (there are thirteen instances in this context of the verb *gemein* and its cognates), our scholar finds nothing but empty space and papers, or shit and lice (except for what he can steal). Furthermore, there is a significant interweaving of words connoting the execution of craftsmanship, and the enjoyment of the fruits thereof, which again highlights the writer's disadvantaged position. It may be tabulated as follows:

- | | |
|---|------|
| 1. <i>grammatikos technites</i> | |
| <i>na plexo stichous</i> ('to weave verses') | (76) |
| <i>na grapso kallista, na laryngysō stichous</i> ('to write most finely, to spout forth') | (77) |

thereby perhaps suggesting that unless his own appeals are heard the emperor may be treated by the Almighty as he has been by his own father? *Line 2*: the poet expresses his plea for money in terms of a plea for bread. Reference to bread, and to his lack of it since he became a *grammatikos*, is constant (16-17, 23-7, 31-2, 79-82, 135-7, 156-8, 202-12): he is in dire and daily need! *Lines 7-8*: he is deep in debt (11t) and implores the emperor to satisfy the demands of his creditors (285-7). *Lines 9-10*: the command *nasai* is used to implore the emperor to save him from hunger and poverty (160-2, 285). In fact, the whole poem is a plea for deliverance not only from hunger but from moral decline, in accordance with the Byzantine belief in man's constant need to combat the bestial side of his dual bestial/spiritual nature in order to reach the desired state of *apatheia*: it is the poet's immediate hunger which enforces his obsession with food, his jealousy of other tradesmen (23-140), his encounters with females on the streets whose sexual appetites appear voracious but fulfilled (99-108, 227-57), his (unwitting) provocation of advice from others to give up the spiritual struggle as *papas-grammatikos* and become entirely bestial, like the common craftsmen. Viewed in the context of the Lord's Prayer, the fourth poem is far from lacking in design and structure (*C. Galatariotou).

Podas metrôn tōn stichōn ('measuring out the feet of verses'), contrasted with *ametron peinan* ('measureless hunger') (69)
tsiknōnō ('I grow faint'); *skotizomai* ('I get dizzy') and *kolazomai* ('I am damned') (135, 158, 150)
phage grammata ('eat letters'); *me trōgei* (*Penia*) ('(Penury) eats me'); *n'atrōges* . . . *to melanin* . . . *para tēn skatōtēn laparan* ('(better) to have eaten ink than shit-filled belly-meat') (137, 152, 256-7)

2. other craftsmen

tsangarēs ('cobbler') as *technitēs stichistēs* ('stitcher-craftsman') (74)
 other *technites* as *philosophos*, *rhetōr*, *kalligraphos* (because they eat and earn money) (210)
petsōnei ('cobbles') (57)
klōsei, *klōthei* ('spin out', in sense of 'enjoy food') (54, 68)
kentēson ('sew') (96)
roukanizō ('chew', 'nibble at' — with enjoyment) (102, 105)
keimena ('that which lies before', usually used for 'texts', here for plentiful fish or smoked meat) (134, 181)

The metaphors of embroidering, weaving, sewing, writing and eating are inter-linked, inherent in the concept of *technē*, consistently underlining the writer's exclusion from the fruits of his labour.

5. The (Pro)-creative Act: Food, Sex — and Literary Texts

Much reference has been made by commentators to our author's 'obsessional attention to what everyone has to eat'.³² Less caution has been shown in the interpretation of some metaphorical terms as literally gastronomic. To give a few examples: the baker's wife, who nibbles at the end of a crunchy white loaf (104-8); the yogurt-seller, whose frothy white goods are there for the asking (109-14); the fuller, the cloth-seller and the pepper-grinder, who summon the *cheiromachisses* ('good lady hand-workers') of the City to size up their wares (114-29); the sieve-maker, whose hearth is always crackling and sparkling with spitted meat and fish (130-4); the tasty *apakin*, stolen by our writer but blamed on the cat (192-201); the butcher's wife, with her tempting breast-meat (*mastarin*) and hanging belly-fat (*lapara*) (233-9): all suggest the promise or practice of sexual fulfilment among other craftsmen. The systematic correlation between eating and sexual activity not only adds to the humour, but also comically intensifies the abjectness of the writer's plight: while others have flesh piled

32. C.A. Mango, *Byzantium: the Empire of New Rome* (New York 1980) 83, 251. The remark is a worn *topos* of Prodromic commentary.

before them (significantly, the word used is *keimenon*, 'that which lies before' or 'text'), he is forced to suffer starvation (apart from metrics, papers and scatophagy, or stolen foods).

It is significant that many of the tradesmen, and their attributes, are comic *topoi* of prestigious lineage. The cobbler (AG *skuteus*), for example, was traditionally regarded as the lowest of the low *banausoi*, often bald, small and avaricious, from Plato (who opposes him to the Philosopher), Old and New Comedy, the Mimes of Herodas, late prose-writers and Byzantine literary sources.³³ The connections between the crafts of writing, weaving, sewing and patching are no less ancient.³⁴ Sausage-sellers, butchers, bakers and fullers were among the *banausoi*, exploited as much for their dubious associations as for the execution of their trade.³⁵ Nor is Prodromic use of comic *topoi* limited to crafts-

33. See, for example, Pl. *Gorg.*491a. The lowly status, dubious practices (and products) of cobblers (in addition to the sale of extravagant shoes at exorbitant prices), are documented comprehensively by W. Headlam, *Herodas: the Mimes and Fragments* (ed. A.D. Knox, Cambridge 1922), pp.xlviii-xlix, 301-2, 304, 328, 336-7, 339. Lucian i.636 chooses the cobbler as the typical poor man who is delighted to die; while Julian *Or.*p.81B stresses the ignobility of cobbling and other menial trades. Also traditional is the coupling of cobbler with schoolmaster (*grammatistēs*) as despicable, see Dio Chrys.2.219, Plut. *Mor.*776B. Among Byzantine writers, Tzetzes expresses similar sentiments: *lamb.* p.511, Kiessling. To these sources cited by Headlam may be added one (out of many) remarkable parallels to our poem from the historical poems of Theodore Prodromos, ed. Hörandner (1974) 378-9 (XXXVIII.35-44), where, in a poem addressed to Anna Doukaina, he recalls his father's advice to 'learn his letters', since he was too weak to be a soldier, and other trades were too base! As in our poem, his efforts were rewarded with poverty. Headlam's editorial practices, both for Herodas' *Mimes* and Aeschylus' *Oresteia* (ed. G. Thomson, Cambridge 1938), remain a model for scholarship and a mine of information, not least for Byzantinists. Of particular value is his careful sifting of literary *topoi* which remained traditional from antiquity throughout the Byzantine period, always viewed with reference to the specific literary and historical context of each author. It is important to stress that the use of *topoi* is not incompatible with historicity; nor should the process of documenting them be confused with the nebulous and romantic concepts of 'Greeknness', or cultural continuity which is perpetuated by the unlettered Greek 'folk'.

34. See, for example, the literary and historical evidence cited by A.T.L. Bergren, 'Language and the female in early Greek thought', *Arethusa: Semiotics and Classical Studies* 16.1/2 (1983) 69-96, and the etymological evidence adduced by Nagy (1979) 299-300.

35. *Apakin* seems to have taken over the metaphorical overtones of AG *allas* ('sausage'), used to denote the male member in Hipponax 48, Crates Com.16, *Ar.Eq.* 161: the role of the *allantopōlēs* ('sausage-seller') in Aristophanes' *Knights* is suggestive for sexual, homosexual, scatological and political innuendoes. For these and other sources, see J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse: obscene language in Attic comedy* (Yale 1975) 20, 66-70. The connection between *allas* and *apakin* (in conjunction with *loukaniko*) has been noted by R. Bancroft-Marcus, *George Chortatsis: a critical study*

men: the Pontos, as plentiful source of small fish and fat old men;³⁶ luxury in shoes as a sign of wealth and effeminacy, much frowned upon by the Church;³⁷ the lice-infested cloak of Poverty;³⁸ even the poor old cat as scapegoat.³⁹ all have an

(D. Phil, thesis, Oxford 1979) 242ff, who cites a number of remarkable parallels between ancient and Cretan Renaissance comedy in the obscene connotations of certain foodstuffs, animal and vegetable (see for *apaki* Chortatsis *Panoria* A 389, B 18, *Katzourbos glossary* and Foskolos *Fortounatos* E 55,70, all of which pass without editorial comment). That this, too, was a literary *topos*, rather than due to conscious imitation (or oral tradition), is indicated by its presence in the commentaries to Aristophanes (*ad loc.*) by Tzetzes. For *enteron* as "guts, reached through the vagina", see Henderson (1975) 20, 69, 125: cf. the taunt of the butcher's wife to our scholar-narrator at line 255 *grammatike philosophe, enterochordoplyia*. *Kreas* ('meat') occurs in Aristophanes both in homosexual contexts (*Eq.* 428, 484 Sch., *fr.* 130.3) and as a slang term for 'female parts' (*Ach.* 795, *Lys.* 1062). As for bakers and their confections, different kinds of cake (*plakous*) were exploited in antiquity for obscene connotations, Henderson (1975) 144-5, duly annotated by Tzetzes. The *katablattas* ('dyer', 'fuller') seems to be the medieval equivalent of AG *knappheus*, *gnappheus*, on whose lowly status and dubious associations, see Headlam (1922) 211-2. Of uncertain meaning is *sēkōtēs*: either 'weigher of goods', cf. *zygostatēs*, as suggested by Hendy (1984) 589 and n.168, or 'carrier', 'porter', in accordance with the modern sense of the word; if the latter, his status on the City's streets was, indeed, the lowest of the low, yet even he, according to our text (114-8), was assured of his 'daily bread'. See Koukoules (1948-55) 2, 185-6 for the status of *bastagarios*, *notophoros*, *phortiaiphoros*, *sēkōtēs*.

36. See, for example, Men. *Samia* 98-101, ed. A.W. Gomme and F.H. Sandbach, *Menander: a commentary* (Oxford 1973) 555 (reference owed to the kindness of A. Henrichs).

37. IV.5-6: for condemnation of male luxury in shoes, especially vehement in the Church fathers, see sources cited by Headlam (1922) xlviii. Koukoules (1948) 4, 397, 407-8, provides parallels to Byzantine fashions in footwear.

38. Cf. Ar. *Pl.* 537-47: the similarities are extremely close. According to Byzantine dream books, to dream of a shepherd's cloak signified envy of another's wealth, poverty, or long sickness (all of which our narrator complains of throughout the four poems), see F. Drexel (ed.), 'Das Traumbuch des Patriarchen Nikephoros', *Beiträge zur Geschichte des christlichen Altertums* (Bonn/Leipzig 1922) 103.64; 116.324; 117.325; 326 (*G. Calofonos). The association with dreams is suggested by our narrator's drowsiness (*mustazō* 268) and sleep (*koimoumai* 269), wrapped in his *kappa* (*tyligomai* 268), following his exclusion from Church (*ekklesiā* 262) and his enforced retreat to his dilapidated home (*palaioipiton*, *kainourgiochalsmenon* 267). The collapsing house and human disease (cf. I.75-87, II.57a (H), IV.177, 180) as apocalyptic symbols are attested in Joseph Bryennios, ed. Eugenios Voulgaris II (Lipzig 1768), p.191, and paraphrased by Mango, *Byzantium and its Image* (Variorum, London, 1984), p.34: "for just as the death of a body is foreshadowed by sickness and gradual disintegration, as the collapse of a house by cracking walls and falling plaster, so indeed is the end of the world indicated in advance by the disappearance of all goodness and virtue, the growth of wickedness and superstition, and by the fact that the Roman Empire had contracted as never before". Once more, apocalyptic dreams and portents are interlinked with the contrast between wealth (his patron's) and poverty (his own) in order to suggest his dependence upon letters (*kappa* is the tenth letter of the Greek

honourable literary pedigree, from Aristophanes to prestigious Byzantine writers.

As for obscene connotations of certain foods and cooking methods, these too are based on traditional metaphors exploited by comedy and satire: to eat (*brōzō* = 'nibble at') for sexual appetite, especially female;⁴⁰ frothy milk, or soft white cheese, for male ejaculation;⁴¹ grinding pepper, or roasting hunks of meat and fish on sparkling red-hot coals for female and male

alphabet) and his need for cash: the letter *kappa* was inscribed as part of the five-letter Cross monogram on the obverse of Manuel I's coins, see Hendy (1969), Plates 17 and 18, and p. 121 for documentation on the half tetarteron, mint of Thessalonica, Type A (heavy standard):

M
Δ - Π - K
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39. Cf. Babrius xxvii, Lucian i.603 (*harpaktikōteroi tōn galōn*), Ar. *Vesp.* 363, Pax 1151, *Thesm.* 559 ('it must have been the cat!'), Plut. *Mor.* 519D (*kathaper opson, gales paradramousēs, airousin ek mesou*) (sources cited by Headlam (1922) 358. The point was not lost on twelfth-century intellectuals, see, for example, Eustathios of Thessaloniki on the joys of stolen foods, particularly among monks: Μέρος δὲ οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἀπολαύσεως ἐν κοσμικοῖς μὲν το φαγεῖν, ἐν μοναχοῖς δὲ οὐ τὸ ἀσυνδέτως ῥίπιν φαγεῖν (αὐτὸ γὰρ πάγκοινόν ἐστι) ἀλλὰ τὸ λαθροφαγεῖν, ὁ ταῦτόν ἐστι τὸ ἥμερος φαγεῖν, καθότι καὶ κλοπῆς ὕδωρ γλυκερόν γράφεται (*G. Calofonos) (0.229.94).

40. See Headlam (1922) 347-8 on *brōzousi* (*Mimes* VII. 63) as a form of *bibrōskousi*, cf. Hesychios: *trōzein* 'psithyrizein, synousiazousin, and Aeschylus, *fr.* 44 *era men hagnos ouranos trōsai klhthōn*. Dogs' appetite for leather was proverbial, as a habit hard, it not impossible, to unlearn, Lucian iii.121: the sense in Herodas is that women exceed even dogs in their appetite for 'leather'.

41. "Eparete droubaniston oxygalan, gynaikeis!" (IV.112). For *droubaniston*, see Kriaras (1968), s.v. *droubanizō*. *Droubani* is glossed by G. Hadzidakis in *BZ* 1 (1892) 99-100 for contemporary meanings. See also V. Tsiouni, *Dieg. Paid.*, for form *draganizō* (?Slavonic root), and F. Miklosich, *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum emendatum auctum* (Aalen 1977). *Droubanistēs* is the name of a torrent on Mt. Athos, according to a document of 1496, *Actes de Dionysiou*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Paris 1968) 39.8, 184 (*A.W. Dunn). *Oxygalon* is probably yogurt, here beaten up to make a refreshing and frothy drink, much like the modern Turkish *ayran* (drink made with yogurt and water, mixed with snow or ice, rather than 'buttermilk'), still sold on the streets of Istanbul, see Hendy (1984) 588-90. For obscene connotations of milk and cheese, see Bancroft-Marcus (1978) 253-4 on Chortatsis *Pan.* C388: *na sou gemisō athogalo ole te galautia sou* (Yiannoulis to Frosyni). Tzetzes, commenting on Ar. *Ran.* 1328, elaborates on the 'twelve positions' of the *hetaira* Kyrene, with a characteristic attack on earlier scholiasts which implies an acknowledged association between milking goats and odd forms of sexual intercourse: W.J. Koster (ed.), *Scholia in Aristophanem* (*Scripta Academica Groningiana*, Gronigen/Amsterdam 1962) IV.3 (*In Runas* 1328, 1340, pp.1074-5, 1081. The *topos* is not unattested in Hebrew and

roles in sexual intercourse;⁴² scatophagy for homosexual and auto-erotic practices.⁴³ The enjoyment (or deprivation) of food and sex is expressed in an interchangeable system of metaphors, which modern anthropologists are just beginning to understand.⁴⁴

6. Text and Inter-textuality

The existence of comic stereotypes, both ancient and contemporary, suggests that our poet, although writing in 'vulgar' Greek, was working within a known and established literary tradition, adapting familiar *topoi* to his own purposes. The question arises, are the similarities, most strikingly with Aristophanic humour, coincidental, or do they imply conscious exploitation? First, both the number and closeness of the parallels, listed here cursorily for the fourth poem only, would seem to preclude the former. Second, there is no objective difficulty in presupposing a close and direct knowledge of Aristophanes (and other comic writers) on the part of our author, as well as a predisposition to compare and contrast past with present *mores*, since any contemporary of John Tzetzes or Eustathios, Bishop of Thessaloniki, especially if he were intimate with the Comnenian court, would have en-

Byzantine religious literature, see J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode*, vol.4, pp.166-71 (*Sources Chrétiennes* 128, Paris 1967).

42. Grinding pepper as metaphorical for sexual intercourse is frequent in modern folk tradition, see, for example, D.A. Petropoulos, *Ellēnika dēmōtika tragoudia II: Basikē Bibliothēkē* no.47 (Athens 1959) 209-10 (*A. Kasdagli). The nearest equivalent in Byzantine sources is perhaps to be found in the satirical song, purportedly of the tenth century but extant in a sixteenth-century ms. from the Marcian Library, Venice, edited by G. Morgan, 'A Byzantine satirical song?', *BZ* 47 (1954) 292-7. Although somewhat obscure, the obscenities connected with grinding, baking and trumpeting are plain enough. For roasting meat or fish on red-hot sparkling charcoals (IV.130-4), see Henderson (1975) 142-3 for the unequivocal connotations of Ar.Eq.1286 (*kukōn tas escharas*), glossed by the scholiast as *ta cheilē tōn gunaikeiōn aidoiōn*. *Eschara* as 'labia' was a common term, see Eust. Thess. 1523.28, 1539.33. These and further particulars are cited by Henderson.

43. Henderson (1975) 192-3: eating dung meant low, animal behaviour, notably in the contexts of homosexuality and auto-eroticism (see especially the sausage-seller's threat to Kleon in Ar.Eq.295 *koprophorēsō se*). Note the proverb concerning scatophagy recorded by Tzetzes. (*Chil.*10.306, 82) (*G. Calofonos).

44. The interconnections between eating and sexual activity appear to be universal; the particular forms they take (including taboos) are culture specific, see E. Leach, *Social Anthropology* (London 1982) 114-6, 196, 221.

joyed access to the latest literary discussions, as well as written commentaries, on that subject.⁴⁵

Can such a stance be reconciled with our narrator's consistently stated 'ignorance' and lack of education? No real problem exists here, since, once again, the statements, as elicited from the four poems, consist of literary devices rather than biographical facts (see Appendix II).

Our poet tells us clearly not that he is uneducated, nor that he is incapable of writing learned verse, but that he seeks a new diversion, for the emperor, himself (and, implicitly, the reader). By *writing and speaking* (*graphō/lalō*) — the tautology is explicit and significant — unadorned lines in 'political verse', he claims it possible to be more truthful and outspoken than the 'fable-mongers' (*mythoplastes*), who merely flatter (another familiar Byzantine *topos* in new form).⁴⁶ Further, learned verse, quite simply, does not pay off, as the scholar's fate in Poem IV, who seeks pyrrhics, iambs and other abstruse metres in lieu of bread, while others stuff themselves, seems to prove.

The use of vulgar Greek is appropriate to the context of begging, not least because the narrator promises to amuse rather than to lament his lot (in fact he does both quite successfully); it is also an apposite means of expression for the numerous comic

45. Wilson (1977) 190-6 provides ample evidence for the continued interest in Aristophanes throughout the twelfth century. Of Tzetzes, he notes that 'while he thought that some of Aristophanes' plays were excellent, he was unable to enjoy the *Frogs*. He complains more than once (at lines 25 and 1144) that the poet must have been drunk when he wrote, while on line 358 he remarks that the poet does little except talk nonsense in this play. The obscenity of 422 irritated him. But it does not seem to have occurred to him to leave the play out of his reading-programme' (194). Current research in our Text Seminar is revealing many subtle allusions to Aristophanes and other comic writers in undisputed works of Theodore Prodromos, in particular in the historical poems edited by Hörandner (1974).

46. See, for example Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Caerim.*, praef., 5, 2-11; and Kekaumenos, *Strategikon*, 75-6, 30-1.¹⁻⁹ The opposition between what has been seen and experienced by the writer as incontrovertibly *true*, on the one hand, and what has been learned only from hearsay (*akoē*), or from other writings, as implicitly or potentially *false*, on the other, is one which runs right through Byzantine writers from Prokopios to Anna Comnena and beyond: it suggests that, despite the advanced state of literacy (at least among the élite), prime importance was attached to direct visual evidence, as in oral or residually oral cultures, rather than to documented (therefore 'written') proof, as in societies reliant upon the printed word, see W.J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* (London 1982) 96-101. The new subtlety introduced by the form of the *topos* in our poems is that narrator foregrounds his intention to *write fluently* in the language used normally for *speaking directly*, and therefore, *to write truthfully*.

topoi, permitting greater licence of speech than more conventional forms of language would allow. The choice of linguistic register is, then, deliberate, bold and original, rather than the result of chance, or lack of skill. It could, of course, be argued that the similarities between our text and comic tradition are due, not to conscious borrowing, but to the survival, through oral transmission of certain comic themes and metaphorical nuances. However, our author is neither illiterate, nor a folk bard, but a skilled writer who makes constant reference to his own presence in the text.⁴⁷ The oral hypothesis cannot explain the use of intrinsically literary devices, although it cannot be denied that several obscene connotations in the poems can be paralleled in comic and satirical works from Aristophanes to the Renaissance, and in popular tradition.

Those who argue that the text, as we have it, reflects varying degrees of oral interference, particularly in the later stages of its transmission, support their case with reference to the numerous lines which can be paralleled in popular verse extant from the fourteenth century and in modern folk songs, as well as to the nature and degree of variation in the later manuscripts.⁴⁸ Such a possibility cannot be excluded, although it remains to be demonstrated that the variant readings are the result of *oral* rather than *aural* transmission. Further, by no means all vestiges of popular tradition can be eradicated as interpolations of later scribes, since many such lines are attested in all the manuscripts and are integral to the meaning and context (notably in the appeal to *Kappa*).⁴⁹ It is equally possible that the author was con-

47. For the intrusion of narrator in the text as a phenomenon first found in Byzantine texts of the late eleventh century, developed in the twelfth, see Kazhdan (1984) 192-4. Correctly, he situates the development in the context of social and intellectual upheavals of the time. R.M. Beaton, in a paper delivered to the Eighteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies (University of Oxford, April 1984), explores the literary aspects of some twelfth-century narrative techniques, first discussed in the context of the Prodromic poems by Alexiou in the draft paper (April 1983) which formed the starting-point for this article; see also Alexiou (1983) 29-46 for a literary and stylistic analysis of the *Timarion*.

48. See Appendix I for details of the discussion.

49. Jeffreys, in his careful review of Hörandner (1974), notes the fondness in the Prodromic poems for rhetorical devices which can also be found in folk songs, particularly for the 'framework of three', whereby the balancing and antithetical halves of one line are rounded off by the first half of the following line, (1977) 106-7. However, the parallels are by no means limited to rhetorical and structural devices, as a detailed study of lines 258-65 will show:

sciously exploiting formulaic lines familiar from folk songs, as would be consistent with his choice of 'vulgar' language. If correct, the supposition that the author consciously and simultaneously alludes to both ancient literature and to popular tradition must suggest a deeper affinity, and closer proximity, between 'high' and 'low' literature in the twelfth century than has hitherto been assumed.

Nor is that all: other levels of allusion in our text which cannot be ignored, although more research is needed before they can be documented, include imperial and ceremonial modes of address

- (i) Κάππα μου, πάλιν κάππα μου, παλαιοχαρβαλωμένη,
κάππα μου, ὄνταν σ' ἔθεκεν ἡ βλάχα νὰ σὲ φάνει (258-9).

Cf. appeals to objects in the folk tradition:

- ἀφέντη μ' ἀφεντάκη μου, πέντε βολές ἀφέντη Petropoulos (1959) II.23
Γάγιο μου, χρυσογάγιο μου, πάλι χρυσό μου γάγιο *Ibid.* 129-30
βλαντί μου, ὄντες σ' ἀνέσταινα, μὲ προξενολογοῦσαν
N.G. Politis, *Eklogai apo ta tragoudia tou ellēnikou laou* (Athens 1914), p.45.31

- Διασιδι, πολυδιάσιδο, καλὸν καιρὸν διασμένο,
διασιδι, ὅταν σὲ διάζουμουν, ἦρθάν οἱ συμπεθέροι *ibid.* 123.85.

Similar appeals are found in the verses of Michael Glykas (ed. E. Tsolaki, Thessaloniki 1959): ψυχὴ μου κακοτύχερε, μίαν ἐχάρης ὥρα (196), and in the *Erotopaignia* (ed. Th. Siapkaras-Pitsillides, Thessaloniki 19): σκούφια μου παγκλασιδωτὴ καὶ παγκλασιδωμένη (435).

- (ii) Καὶ τὴν λαμπρὴν τὴν Κυριακὴν στὴν ἐκκλησιὰν ἂν πάγω (263)
Cf. Καὶ μιὰ Λαμπρὴ, μιὰ Κεργιακὴ, μίαν πίσσημος ἡμέρα . . . Petropoulos II.59

- (also II.63, II.78, II.122, II.129, G. Ioannou *Paraloges* (Athens 1975) p.52).
Καὶ μιὰ γιορτὴ, μιὰ Κυριακὴ καὶ μίαν λαμπριὰν ἡμέρα Petropoulos II.87 (also Politis 110.80, 122.85)
Καὶ μιὰ γιορτὴ, μιὰ Κυριακὴ μιὰ Πασχαλιὰ μεγάλη
τὴν εἶδα ποὺ στολίζονταν στὴν ἐκκλησιὰ νὰ πάγει Giankas, *Epeiritika demotika tragoudia* (Athens n.d.) 415-6.

Again, the line is found in vernacular verse of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, for example *Synaxarion tou timēmenou Gadarou* (ed. G. Wagner, Leipzig 1874) 5: Ἀλλ' ὅμως τάχα κάποτε, Λαμπρά ἡμέρα ἦτον, and *Gadarou, lykou ki aloupous diēgesis oraia* (ed. Wagner) 25: Καὶ μιὰ λαμπρὴ τὴν Κυριακὴν τάχα λυπηθήκε τον (iii) ὅλους χωρεῖ ἡ ἐκκλησιὰ καὶ μὲν' οὐδὲν ἐχώρει

This formula, suggesting exclusion, occurs both in folk songs:

- Ὅλα τὰ ντόπια τὰ Πουλιὰ ἔχουν φωλιὰς καὶ μένουν Ioannou 283
Ὅλα τὰ δέντρα τὸ προῖ δροσιὰ εἶναι γεμισμένα *ibid.* 285
Οὔλοι τὸν ἥλιο τὸν τηρᾶν, ποὺ πάει νὰ βασιλέψει Politis 163.128B
(also Petropoulos II.59, II.158); and in vernacular laments for historical and natural disasters, see M.F. Herzfeld, 'New light on the 1480 Siege of Rhodes', *British Museum Quarterly* 36 (1972) 69-73, and, in slightly different form, *To Anakalema tēs Konstantinoupolēs* (ed. E. Kriaras, Thessaloniki 1956) 31.56-60.

- (iv) Καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ σείσμαν τὸ πολὺν καὶ τὸ πολὺ τὸ διῶμα (265)

and religious and liturgical texts.⁵⁰ The most striking examples of the former occur in the proems and formal addresses, while religious allusions are commonest in the frequent episodic digressions (see pages 10-14 above, and Appendix II).

In differing degrees, a quadruple system of literary allusion may be postulated: to ancient and Byzantine literary tradition; to orally transmitted verse; to ceremonial documents; to religious and liturgical texts. The author's motives are a matter for conjecture only; but the artistic functions of his intertextual play include, on the one hand, his attempt to amuse and divert patron and readers by introducing fresh areas of allusion in new combinations, appropriate to the linguistic register; and, on another, his effective subversion of the 'truth' of what he seems to be saying

The motif of swaggering motion, usually in an erotic context, is common, cf.

μά'νας νιός καλός, καλός καὶ διωματάρης *Politis*.151.110
 με σεῖσμα καὶ με λύγισμα τῇ σκάλα ν-ἀνεβαίνει *ibid.*113.81.49
 μὰ ἐγὼ τὸ νιὸ ποῦ ἀγάπησα, τοῦ κόσμου διωματάρης *ibid.*115.82.14
 κοιμήσου γιέ μου, καλόγιε, ὁμορφε διωματάρη *Petropoulos* II.147

Further, the syntactic structure, introducing the result (usually negative) of excess, can be paralleled in laments and Kleftic songs:

Κι ἀπὸ τὸν μύσχο τὸν πολὺ, κι ἀπὸ τῇ μυρωδιά του *Ioannou* 288
 Κι ἀπὸ τὸν μύσχο τὸν περσό, κι ἀπὸ τῇ μυρωδιά του *Politis* 214.204
 Κι ἀπὸ τὴν περηφάνια του καὶ ἀπὸ τῇ λεβεντιά του *Petropoulos* II.246

(Folk song parallels researched by *A. Kasdagli). More research is needed before firm conclusions can be drawn; but meanwhile such formulaic lines should not be dismissed or attributed to later scribal interference.

50. Standard titles and modes of address in the poem include *autokratōr*, *autokratōr ton Romaion* (adopted from Michael I, 811-3), *despotes* (introduced by Justinian I, 527-65), *augoustos* (after tenth century only used on imperial *edicta* and letters to foreign powers), *stephēphoros*, *kratistos*, *tropaiouschos*, *anax*, *skeptouchos*, *kratarchēs*; documentation for their use in the twelfth century is cited in books and articles referred to by F. Dölger, *Byzantinische Diplomatik: 20 Aufsätze zum Urkundenwesen der Byzantiner* (Ettal 1956); see also F. Dölger and J. Karayannopoulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre* (Munich 1968), Hunger (1964), Hendy (1969), Mango 'The Conciliar Edict of 1166', *DOP* 17 (1963) 315-30. Less usual modes of address and metaphors include the emperor as *skepē* ('protection'), cf. sources cited in Regel (1892) III.41, VI.103; as *harbour/haven/sea of tranquility* (1g-1m, 100-rr, cf. III.440), see Regel (1892) IX.156; as *refuge and haven* (1i, 1k, 1rr, 283), cf. Regel (1892) III.27, 41; as *bestower of wealth* (1c, 280), cf. Regel (1892) I.1V.17-18; as *ruler of rulers* (1p, 160, 163, 276, 284), cf. Mango (1963), Dölger-Karayannopoulos (1968) 157, Regel (1892) I, III.40, VI.103; as *successful soldier* (1cc-111), cf. Mango (1963), Regel (1892) I.1.4, 15, III.28-9, 40-1, 43, VI.101, 103, VIII.151, IX.156, 162; as *wise as Solomon* (1xx), cf. Mango (1963) 28, Regel (1892) I, VIII.132, X.166; as *mimēsis theou* (1j, cf. III.16), cf. Hunger (1964) 58-63. See also note 28. (*J.F. Haldon). For liturgical and religious texts alluded to in poem IV, see the Short Note by Z. Gavrilović, in this issue below.

(or writing). Can we take seriously the exaggerated *enkōmia* of the four proems, with their obsessional re-turns to the emperor-addressee's purple-sprouting tetrarchate, and to the author-addressor's illness and poverty? How are we to react to the juxtaposition, at the end of the fourth poem, of the poet's scarlet and lice-bitten state with the emperor's 'rose-hued purple'? And are the obsequious appeals to the emperor and others for mercy, interspersed as they are with graphic accounts of penury, perhaps intended to remind his patron that fortune is fickle? — just as his own father's promise of wealth and prestige has not been fulfilled, so, too, his glorious patron should remember that no pinnacle of glory, however mighty, can last for ever.

The narrative framework is fictive, the allusive system complex and skillful. Does this mean that our four poems cannot be 'historical'?

7. Text and context

Granted that our four poems cannot be dated on either textual or linguistic grounds, what evidence exists, within the text, for their composition in a form essentially similar to 'our' version, during the late twelfth century? The question is complex, and fraught with pitfalls, since historically dateable elements do not necessarily dictate a definable *terminus ante quem*, but may reflect later re-workings or garbled scribal memories.⁵¹

The evidence of material artefacts, especially coinage and currency, as well as references to historical events and figures, are, however, likely to prove valuable indicators. Further, the underlying social complaints should be viewed in context, not dismissed as literary conceits, however universal and ubiquitous a figure the poverty-stricken academic, in comparison with dustmen, or miners, may be.

The numismatic evidence points unequivocally to the years 1163 to 1204, probably to the early 1160's or early 1170's, with indications of later re-workings in variant readings of some later manuscripts. The main points may be briefly summarised by reference to the text:

51. H. Grégoire's attempts to date *Digenes Akrites* from 'historical' elements in the text have been questioned, see Beck (1971) 63-97 for a useful summary; over-reaction to 'Grégoirism' should not, however, lead scholars to ignore the historical and dateable evidence provided in literary texts.

1. Καὶ τῶρα τὰ ὑπέρπυρα γέμει τὰ μονοηλάτα IV.13, cf. III.408.

The term *manoēlaton* was not much used after 1204, the last recorded instance being from the Ionian Isles in 1216; the *terminus post quem* is 1143.⁵² Most probably, a date some time after Manuel's second coinage c.1163, from which time on large quantities of the coin were struck, during the third coinage, is indicated.⁵³ Further, each of the four denominations of Manuel's first coinage depict Christ Emmanuel on the obverse as a young and beardless figure, possibly with reference to the emperor Manuel's young and beardless age of 17 or 18; this may explain the use in the text of poems III and IV of the epithet *christomimētos*, all with direct reference to Manuel. As for the term *hyperpyron*, it is used, in common with *elektron*, as an epithet for *trachy*, to distinguish the *manoēlaton* from the billon *trachy* (= *stamenon*) and from the copper *tertareron*. Again, a twelfth-century context is indicated.

2. καὶ νά, παιδὶν μου, στάμενον εἰς τὰ χορδοκοιλίτσα IV.51, cf. I^a. 127,130.

The *stamenon* (or *histamenon*, Latin *staminum*), is known from the eleventh century as a billon coin, referred to as *staminum* in western sources, but as *nomisma trachy* in the majority of Byzantine sources.⁵⁴ Our text provides one of the few twelfth-century references to the coin as *stamenon*, with the contextual implication that the term was in normal, everyday use, although not preferred by more learned writers.

3. μετὰ βελόνιν ταρτεροῦ καὶ ράμματα σταμένου IV.51, cf. III.130

The *tarteron* (or *tetareron*), a gold coin at the time of the *Book of the Prefect*, became increasingly debased during the second half of the eleventh century, and was finally restructured, becoming a base metal denomination in the coinage reforms of Alexios I in 1092. The implication here that it was a small coin of low

52. Hendy (1969) 19-20, 27.

53. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection IV : Alexios I to Michael VIII* (1081-1261) (Washington D.C.): in progress.

54. Hendy (1969) 5,6,28-9.

value points to the early 1200's at the latest.⁵⁵ This can be supported by the variant *tornesakin* for *tarteron* in one manuscript (g) at IV.83 and 91, the former having replaced the *tarteron* as a low-value billon coin during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁵⁶ Numismatic evidence therefore points consistently to a period from the 1160's to the early 1200's.

References to historically identifiable events and figures are rare, except for the dubious proem to poem IV, where cumulative evidence points to the years around 1175.⁵⁷ However, the general complaint, that craftsmen and artisans were better off than they deserved, receives excellent corroboration from other sources which can be dated to the latter part of the twelfth century, probably before the mid-1180's. Benjamin of Tudela, who visited the imperial City in the year 1168, reports as follows:

They say that the city's daily income, what with rents from shops and markets and what with the customs levied on merchants coming by sea and by land, reaches 20,000 gold pieces. The Greeks who live there have a wealth of gold and jewels. They walk about dressed in silk, with patterns of gold sewn or embroidered onto their garments. They ride their horses like princes. Now the land is very abundant in good fruits, in bread, in meat and wine, so that no other can be compared to it in richness. It has men learned in all the books of the Greeks. Its inhabitants, each and everyone, eat and drink beneath their vine and their fig tree.⁵⁸

55. *Ibid.* 6-7, 23-5, 28-9.

56. Hendy (1984) 534-45. See Appendix II, Proem IV lines 1jj-ll.

57. Nur ad-din (Ikk), ruler of Aleppo, established Saladin in Egypt, and in 1171 he was free to turn his attention to the north, where he built up a strong coalition of forces against the Selcuk ruler Kilic Arslan. A pact between the two in 1173 agreed that Arslan was to take his responsibilities in the Holy War more seriously; Nur ad-din died in 1174. Melias, or Mleh, brother of Theodore (Toros II, ruler of the Armenian principality in Cilicia 1145-69) succeeded by virtue of his under-age son Ruben II (1169-70); Mleh invaded the realm on Ruben's accession with the support of Nur ad-din, and seized control. Reversing the traditional policy of the dynasty for allying with the Crusaders, Mleh made a pact with the Muslims. His position was undermined by the death of Nur ad-din in 1174, and he was murdered by his own vassals in 1175. Stefan Nemanja, the most vigorous of the Serbian princes to submit to Manuel after an imperial show of force in 1172, was brought to Constantinople as a captive. The fact that he was not heard of throughout the rest of Manuel's reign, but emerged soon after as the successful leader of a breakaway Serbian state, argues a date prior to 1181 for the composition of the proem, since after then he would not have been used as a negative example for the prospective rebels; by the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries he would have been a forgotten figure. It should also be mentioned that the proem seems to contain no reference to the unfortunate outcome of the Battle of Myriokephalon (1176). (*A.E. Harvey)

58. Cited in A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade* (London 1971) 136.

It may indeed be doubted, in the light of this passage, whether scholars were in fact as poor as our narrator makes out; nevertheless, the prosperity of the City's craftsmen (and Comnene's resentment of it) can be supported from a substantial number and range of twelfth century sources.⁵⁹ Once more, a date prior to Manuel's death in 1180 can be postulated on the grounds that urban riots subsequently became frequent due to imperial weakness.⁶⁰

As for food, drink, utensils, clothes and fashions, the evidence, comprehensively listed by Koukoules, may not be so firmly dateable as the numismatic, but it is certainly consistent with the latter part of the twelfth century. In particular, the association of the three types of bread with the three social classes (aristocracy, middle classes, artisanate) can be corroborated in Tzetzes.⁶¹ By complaining that he has no bread at all, while it is the baker's wife who nibbles the end of a loaf made from *aphratitsin*, the 'aristocrat's bread', our scholar perhaps implies not so much literal starvation as lack of social position and status. Hence his need for direct appeal to his patron.

These comments on the chronology of the poems are not intended to be exhaustive, but simply to indicate possible ways forward for establishing approximate dates with reference to social and historical context rather than by means of circular linguistic and metrical arguments.

8. Some concluding comments

Although much work remains to be done, several points emerge from this preliminary survey. First, the vulgar language of the four Prodromic Poems should not be allowed to obscure the

artistry — or craft — of their composition. Poem IV, as has been seen, is artfully constructed so as to conceal both the writer's temerity in 'speaking plainly' to the emperor and the ambivalent nature of his lavish praises. Second, within the conventional framework of beggar poetry, several innovations are possible precisely because the author has chosen to 'write fluently' in a language normally reserved for 'speaking plainly', thereby challenging the assumed superiority of the medium favoured by the 'fable-mongers', who know only how to winge (II.16) or cringe (III. 15-19). Third, the affectation of ignorance is a literary artifice, devised by the writer for his narrating *personae*, as the quality and quantity of literary allusions to a wide range of other texts (literary, ceremonial, religious and popular) suggests. Our author is capable of a rich, subtle and original level of intertextuality, which consistently exploits all texts to humorous effect. Fourth, the numismatic, historical and social evidence confirms the mid-to late-twelfth century context of the four poems.⁶² In other words, the use of literary conventions and 'timeless' comic *topoi* does not preclude the poems from being very much a product of and for the times. For this reason alone, it is surely necessary for literary and linguistic studies of this and other texts to be more closely integrated with the results of historical, social and economic research than has hitherto proved the case, at least among a majority of Byzantinists, in order that a better understanding be reached regarding the literary perceptions and distortions of reality in Byzantine texts.⁶³

Perhaps most significantly, our author, although adopting a 'low' style, expounds an aristocratic viewpoint in his contempt for the artisanate, a feeling which was expressed with increasing frequency and intensity from the late eleventh century and throughout the twelfth. Here, he touches upon what must be

59. These are cited by Kazhdan (1984) 78-86, 144-6 and Hendy (1984) 577-88.

60. Hendy (1984) 587 n.

61. *Chil.* 11.364.22 (Kiessling 404). For the division of other commodities into three categories, starting always from the top, see Const. Porph. *De Caerim.* 1.470.10 and the detailed analysis by Hendy (1984) 307-10 and 310n. *Mesos* for bread of the second quality is attested in the dream-book of Daniel, Drexel (1922) 314. The case for interpreting *to mesokatharon* . . . *tēs mesēs* as referring to social status is argued by Koukoules (1948-55) 5.19. For a contrary view, see K. Amantos 'Glōssikai Paratērēseis', *EEBS* 2 (1925) 78-86 and *Glōssika Meletēmata* (Athens 1964) 279-81. The division of society according to a tripartite formula is further attested in Eustathios of Thessaloniki and Niketas Choniates, see Kazhdan (1984) 143, who points out that it departs in some respects from earlier Byzantine conventions and has parallels in contemporary western classifications.

62. The twelfth-century context has recently been questioned, largely on metrical and linguistic grounds, by Eideneier (1982/3) 139-40 and n.1; it is affirmed, on numismatic, historical and social grounds by Hendy (1984) 588-90 and no. 158.

63. Mango's view, formulated in an inaugural lecture, 'Byzantine literature as a distorting mirror' (Oxford 1975), that despite the bulk of extant texts, not much historical, social or even literary sense can be made of them, has provoked undue hostility, particularly among literary scholars. A constructive reappraisal of the problems and their possible solutions may be found in Kazhdan (1984) 27ff, 43, 105, 158-9, 194-5, who stresses that a subtler reading of literary and other texts within their historical and social context often reveals significant patterns of change, despite the rigid conventions in forms of expression.

among the most fascinating key problems of Byzantine society and economy at a crucial turning point, when events in the medieval West were taking a markedly different course. It must be left to others to extract from the four poems the full wealth of historical and social information which they contain, particularly on marital status and the position of women (Poem I); means of income, forms of state support and problems of balancing the family budget (Poem II); monastic life and the financial, dietary and other abuses among the hierarchy (Poem III); and the poverty, in contrast to the expected social status, of the *grammatikos* in relation to common artisans, who were well off financially but socially repressed from the time of the reforms of Alexios I. For the present, it emerges that the *grammatikos*, while seeing himself as a craftsman (*technitēs*), seems to be caught somewhere between his aristocratic outlook (the product of his education) and his actual income. He shared neither the privileges nor the status of the aristocracy, yet at the same time lacked the means of securing a livelihood as a craftsman. He was therefore a 'déclassé' parasite, dependent upon his patron and excluded from the fruits of his labour. Practice, the poem effectively tells us, was at odds with theory so far as the value of a good education in twelfth-century Byzantium was concerned.⁶⁴

64. *Apaideusia* was considered a misfortune, hence parents were responsible for the education of their children. Gregory Nazianzenos had recommended that fathers should teach their children rudimentary letters (*Patrologia Graeca* 37.381); if unable to do so, they should send them to an elementary school-master, a lowly figure who often had a second job as a notary (*taboullarios*), cf. the insulting appellation *grammatike notare* of the butcher's wife in our poem (245). Complaints about parents' failure to provide a satisfactory education for their children were not infrequent, see Neophytos the Recluse, *Hermēneia despotikōn entolōn* Cod.Coisl.Gr. 287, fols.180b-181a, and Joseph Bryennios, ed. Voulgaris (1768) 1.108. On the status and duties of the *grammatikos*, required to provide rudimentary literacy and knowledge of basic scriptures and religious texts, see Browning, 'Enlightenment and repression in Byzantium in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Past and Present* 69 (1975) 3-23, 'Byzantine world', *BMGS* 4 (1978) 46-8. Had the narrator of poem IV been no more than an ordinary *grammatikos*, his complaints of poverty might not have aroused sympathy. However, he displays knowledge of secular learning, e.g. ancient myths (1bb), learned verse and metre (71-7,82), Homer, Libanios, Oppian and the classics (213-23), and philosophy (255), and is thereby qualified as a teacher of the *thurathen* or *esōthen paideia*, as well as of the *enkuklios paideia*, the second cycle of Byzantine education, see K. Konstantinides, *Higher education in Byzantium in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries* (Nicosia 1982) 16, 135-44 and Koukoules (1948-55) 1.66-7, 105. At the same time references to the priesthood (137-40, 173) are consistent with the teacher of *exōthen paideia*, or *hiera grammata*, see Konstantinides (1982)

Finally, a great deal of material from the twelfth century remains to be explored, of which these and other Prodromic texts form but a small part, on the changing awareness of language as a means of communication, as rhetoric, and the incipient emergence of the vernacular.⁶⁵ The fact that such intellectual developments were curtailed in the east, but not in the west, gives added significance to Byzantine texts of this period for all medievalists.

A last word: if the Prodromic poems prove a greater source of fun and information than has hitherto been recognised, can it be that it is Byzantinists, not the Byzantines themselves, who lack a sense of humour?

1.7. In this way our narrator's plight is perhaps intended to illustrate the poverty not of one particular teaching profession, but of all men forced to earn a living from their education. (*C. Galatariotou).

65. On the emergence of the vernacular, it should be noted that prevailing attitudes in the twelfth century favoured the ornate and high-flown style for written texts, and no longer tolerated the excuses, traditional until the tenth century, for 'unadorned' or 'low' style on grounds of comprehensibility. The climate of the times is exemplified by the order of the Patriarch, Nikolaos Mouzalon (1147-51) for the destruction of the *Life* of Saint Paraskevi the Younger because it was written *idiōtikos para tinos chōritou*, see Browning, 'The language of Byzantine literature', *Byzantina kai Metabyzantina* (Malibu 1978) 103-33 and Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur* (Munich 1959) 640. When a learned writer of the eleventh and twelfth centuries employs the 'simple' language, he is careful to explain precisely why he does so, whether for reasons of lack of education (Neophytos the Recluse) or because he is deliberately 'writing down' to his audience (Philip the Monk, the introductory works of Psellos, texts by Tzetzes and Manasses intended for imperial court ladies), see Jeffreys, 'The nature and origins of political verse', *DOP* 28 (1974) 162-3 (*C. Galatariotou). The author of the Prodromic poems neither lacks education nor can claim to be addressing the lower classes, hence the choice of the vernacular points to a deliberate attempt to use the popular language for amusement at high levels, cf. the prison poem by Michael Glykas. Such a choice is unlikely to have been made by a person without education and without standing in the imperial court, see Appendix I.

Appendix I: On the Question of Authorship

It is not intended to give an exhaustive treatment here to the complex question of the authorship of the four Prodromic poems (the problem is probably insoluble), but to present, more extensively than is possible in text or footnotes, a brief review of some of the major contributions to date which argue the case against Theodore Prodromos on the basis of style, language and metre, and to suggest some alternative modes of approach.

First, style. Hesseling — Pernot (1910) 21-3, draw attention to 'les fautes de goût, les nombreuses exagérations, les contradictions et le nom même de Ptocho-prodrome'. Their lofty superiority has, predictably perhaps, been perpetuated by subsequent critics, for example Mango (1980) 251, 'He tries to be funny by introducing scenes of slapstick comedy . . . , but the humour is spoilt by a tone of monotonous servility and tedious repetitiveness'. It would indeed prove tedious to list all such dismissive strictures. Unless founded on rigorous stylistic analysis and some awareness of Byzantine theory and practice, judgements based on 'style' are likely to reveal more about our own (literary and academic) preconceptions than about the quality, date and authorship of a particular text, as I. Sevcenko has argued in a seminal article, 'Levels of style in Byzantine prose', *JÖB* 31 (1981) 289-312. Repetition, redundancy, eulogy, hyperbole and exaggeration are all, in fact, acceptable hallmarks of the medieval popular style, see Ong (1982) 36-49 and M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* (Harvard 1979) 208-30. If our author was *deliberately* cultivating an oral-popular style in the text (as distinct from the proems) of the four poems, as is indicated by the frequent use of verbs of speaking, then the features decried by modern critics are a sign of sophistication, not incompetence.

Second, language. As R. Browning has pointed out, the difficulty of distinguishing language from style in Byzantine literature has proved a constant source of confusion, the concept of 'register' as used in modern descriptive and socio-linguistics providing a better model, 'The language of Byzantine literature', *Byzantina kai Metabyzantina*, ed. S. Vryonis (Malibu 1978) 103. With this principle in mind, let us review the case against Theodore Prodromos. Beck (1971) 104, while carefully not excluding the manuscript attribution, considers it more probable that the four poems are composed by a later poet in the style, perhaps parodic, of Theodore Prodromos, reflecting an imitation or rendering into the vernacular of the poet's learned verse. Hörander (1974) 66, is non-committal, but observes that 'Eine Umsetzung eines hochsprachlichen Gedichtes in die Volkssprache könnte wohl Werk Eines späteren Dichterlings sein, eine Fortsetzung in der hier vorliegenden Art jedoch kaum', without explaining precisely why, and in defiance of the evidence of other (admittedly few) examples of vernacular poems emanating from the Komnene court, see Beck (1971) 101-9. Kyriakis (1974) 290-309, assumes, on the basis of linguistic differences, the existence of no fewer than three separate authors — Theodore Prodromos, the author of the Mangana poems and 'Ptochoprodromos' — understanding our poet's complaints so literally that he populates almost an entire wing of the Mangana monastery with starving literati, among them one 'Theodore', allegedly suffering from internal disorders of the stomach, spleen and liver (surely the result of over-indulgence rather than deficiency?!). Most recently, H. and N. Eideneier (1983/3) 119-50, conclude that the mixed language of the four poems, and of other comparable texts, can be explained by the influence of oral transmission (in the case of III and IV), and by the tendencies of later scribes to correct and corrupt, thereby implicitly rejecting both Theodore Prodromos as author and the twelfth-century context.

It will be noted that the case against Prodromos rests on assumed 'linguistic inconsistencies', both between learned and vulgar Greek, and in the almost riotous range of morphological, syntactic and lexical forms to be found in the vernacular poems. First, if we observe Browning's timely reminder that *register* (chosen level of communication, whether in speech or writing) is a more accurate concept than 'language' (*langue* or *parole*?), then the difficulty concerning Prodromos writing both in learned and in vernacular Greek disappears, as Kazhdan (1984) 91, perceives in calling the poems 'genre exercises'. The second question, concerning inconsistencies within the vernacular, is more complex, and has been much debated. Jeffreys (1974) 176, is categorical in his assumption that Byzantine intellectuals shared our own preconceptions of linguistic homogeneity, finding it 'difficult to accept the picture of generations of Byzantine intellectuals who experiment in popular language yet fail to carry their experiments through to the *logical conclusion of a completely vernacular poem*. The education of such men was directed entirely to the *elimination of mistakes from their writing*, towards the preservation of a *uniform linguistic level*. If they decided to experiment with the vernacular, surely at least one man could have been found in several centuries to impose *a similar uniformity on his demotic writing*?' (italics mine). In order to explain the lack of uniformity in the written vernacular poems (which, it is assumed, cannot have been characteristic of everyday speech), Jeffreys advances the important but controversial hypothesis of a literary 'Kunstsprache', dependent upon a lost oral tradition in *politikos stichos*, which admits variant linguistic forms for metrical and oral-formulaic reasons.

While not wishing for the present to preclude the possibility, I would like to propose, tentatively at least, several arguments towards a different explanation, namely that the 'inconsistencies' encountered are precisely those to be expected during the tumultuous and painful process of adapting the spoken to the written word, see B. Stock, *Implications of literacy* (Princeton 1980) and Ong (1982) for parallel developments in the medieval west. So far as the forms of Greek actually spoken in the Byzantine capital are concerned, Browning remarks, with judicious caution, that no firm conclusions can be drawn, but that the probability is that there existed 'a common tongue in which a great many alternative forms, belonging historically to different dialects, were acceptable. Men from all over the Greek world mingled in Constantinople as they did nowhere else', *Medieval and Modern Greek* (2 ed., Cambridge 1983) 82. Nor can the destabilising influence of non-Greek tongues in the capital, noted by Tzetzes, be ignored, see G. Moravesik, 'Barbarische Sprachreste in der Theogonie des Johannes Tzetzes' *BNJ* 7 (1928/9) 352 (Turkic, Arabic, Hebrew, Latin and Russian languages are mentioned). Further, not one of the early vernacular works reflects dialectal differences, nor can they be dated with any certainty on linguistic grounds, nor are they to be related directly to chronological developments in the Greek language, see Browning (1978) 125-6. On the other hand, notions of linguistic unity and consistency have been an obsession among scholars, Greek and non-Greek, from the struggle for the independence of the Greek state to the present day, most particularly at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as is evident from the predominant concern of Prodromic scholarship with linguistic questions; see also D. Tziovas, *The Nationism of the Demoticists and its impact on their literary theory (1888-1930)*, (Unpubl. Ph.D. thesis., University of Birmingham, 1984). Given the present state of the evidence, it seems safer — and simpler — to attribute the profusion of linguistic forms in our text to the formidable difficulties of recording in writing a spoken form of the language which cannot have been *standardised*, simply because it had never been *written*, than to postulate the existence of a 'Kunstsprache' or a subsequent phase of oral transmission and/or scribal interference. It should not be forgotten that the earliest vernacular texts are courtly, not 'folk', in genre, tone and context, see Beck (1971) 3-6, nor that the complex task of writing

in the spoken language (so greatly emphasised in the proems, appropriately perhaps in a more even and archaising language) is unlikely to have been undertaken by a 'Dichterling'. Once more, the interaction between Latin and the vernaculars in the medieval west can provide an instructive parallel, although the cases cannot be regarded as identical, due to the greater inter-penetration of learned and popular forms in Greek, see M. Alexiou, 'Diglossia in Greece', *Standard languages, spoken and written*, ed. W. Haas, *Mont Follick Series 5* (Manchester 1982) 156-92, and Ong, *Interfaces of the Word* (Cornell 1977) 28-34. In general terms, the survival of Latin as the language of school education and the medium of much formal oral communication, long after it had ceased to be a spoken language, can be explained by its being the only mutually intelligible language amidst the 'swarming, oral vernaculars which often had different, mutually unintelligible forms among populations perhaps only 50 miles apart', Ong (1982) 112-3. Further, where a more or less standardised form becomes established in writing, as a 'grapholect', its rules for 'correct' grammar and usage are popularly interpreted as the grammar and usage of other dialects, *ibid.* 108; hence, in the case of Byzantine Greek, interference between learned and vernacular registers is to be expected, especially during the early stages of developing the vernacular.

Third, metre. Following the suggestion of Jeffreys (1977) 105-7, H. and N. Eideneier, 'Zum fünfzehnsyllabigen der Ptochoprodomos', *Aphierōma ston Lino Politi* (Thessaloniki 1979) 1-7, apply rigorous metrical tests, based on Hörandner's four distinct stress patterns in fifteen-syllable verse, and conclude that Theodore Prodromos can virtually, if not decisively, be excluded as author. Hörandner, 'Zur Frage der Metrik früher Volkssprachlicher Texte: Kann Theodoros Prodromos der Verfasser volkssprachlicher Gedichte sein?' *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 375-81, accepts the validity of metrical and linguistic data in discounting Prodromos' authorship of the four vernacular poems, but not necessarily of the earlier vernacular poem edited by A. Maiuri, 'Una nuova poesia di Teodor Prodromo in greco volgare', *BZ* 23 (1914/20) 397-407, and concludes that the distinction between 'volkssprachlich — hochsprachlich' may prove less significant than that between 'volkstümlich — gelehrt'. The subtlety of the last distinction is elusive, more especially as the four poems can be shown to contain all four elements — archaising language (proems) / evolved vernacular language; learned, ceremonial and religious allusions / popular style.

Is metre any more 'objective' than language and style as a precise tool of measurement for date and authenticity of texts? So far as metrical regularity is concerned, R.F.J. Henrichsen pointed out as long ago as 1838 that considerable flexibility has always been allowed in the position of the stress accent in the fifteen-syllable line, *Ueber die so-genannten politische Verse bei den Griechen* (Leipzig 1839, tr. P. Fredrichsen). There is no reason to retract one's position of ten years ago, that 'a careful examination of . . . voluminous statistics shows that the metre always allowed considerable flexibility in the position of the stress-accent, . . . and that no hard-and-fast rules can be laid down. It is therefore unlikely that metrical analyses alone can determine with certainty . . . the date of specific works. Preference for a particular form of accentuation may be due to a number of variable and unknown factors: individual taste, tendency either to archaïse or to regularise, or simply a desire to vary the monotony of the rhythm', M. Alexiou and D.W. Holton, 'The origins and development of 'politikos stichos': a select critical bibliography', *Mandatoforos* 9 (1976) 22-34.

Once assumptions of inherent unity and organic growth in an author's work (whether stylistic, linguistic or metrical) are discarded, or seen in proper perspective as romantic preconceptions traditional from the early nineteenth century, then the case against Prodromos, 'far from proven' as Kazhdan has shown (1984) 91, begins to disintegrate. It is too soon to draw conclusions on the case for Prodromos, postulated by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Eis kai monos Theodoros Prodromos', *Annales de la société*

historique et philologique d'Odessa 7 (1899) 585-602, and cautiously supported by Maiuri (1914/20) 397-407. Three factors deserve closer investigation: first, literary and historical allusions in the four poems which can be linked with what is known of Prodromos' life, work and times; second, similarities and differences in literary and stylistic terms between the four poems and Prodromos' undisputed works, in particular the historical poems and the Maiuri poem (our Text Seminar has already established several remarkable parallels); and third, a wider study of the growing flexibility of genre, style and register in the twelfth century, alongside an incipient awareness of the complexity of language as a means of communication (as opposed to a creation of God). Kazhdan's study (1984) richly documented from a wide range of relevant sources, provides the framework, and goes a long way towards researching the first and third of these three factors (see especially on language as a concept, p.111). Viewed in this wider context, the authorship question need not be merely a search for the author, but can be linked with the most significant intellectual developments of the twelfth century. Meanwhile, the *artfulness* of the fourth poem has, it is hoped, been established.

Appendix II: The Four Proems

It is hoped that the following provisional translation of the four proems will help to draw attention to some of their more unusual common features, in particular the more archaising language and complex syntax (difficult to render in translation), the importunate yet intimate tone of address, the persistent playfulness of concepts of writing/speaking, prose/verse, political/*politikos* (*stichos*), truth/fiction, and on the name *Prodromos*. Only the fourth proem has been worked on systematically by the Text Seminar (*C. Galatariotou). No attempt has been made to render the fifteen-syllable verse; but names, epithets and titles have been translated as consistently as possible.

Proem I (MS G)

From Prodromos, kyros-Theodoros, to the Emperor Mavroïannes (John II)

- What am I to dedicate to you, lord, crowned lord, (despota)
 what kind of recompense or favour can I bring
 of equal value to your own bright benefactions, (exisōmenēn)
 all kinds of which were rendered to me from your might. (kratous)
 5 Already, some time ago, but a short while since,
 I had nothing, unfortunate as I was, to offer you,
 appropriate to your might and to your godliness, (chrestotēti)
 as also to your pride and to your graciousness, (charitoti)
 except some verses, once more 'political' and unmeasured, (politikous ametrous)
 10 restrained, playful, yet in no way shameful, (paizontas)
 for old men too can play, albeit more wisely so. (paizousi)

- Do not, therefore, exclude them, send them not away, rather
 receive them as condiments, although they have no smell, (kodimenta)
 and hear with loving mercy what I write in my misfortune. (akouson, graphō)
 15 Even though I seem, lord, to laugh and play at once, (gelōn, paizōn)
 yet I have infinite grief and heaviest affliction,
 an ailment troublesome, and suffering — yes suffering! (arrostēma, pathos)
 Hearing of suffering, think not I have a rupture,
 nor any graver of the more secret (troubles),
 20 no obvious distress in belly or in tooth,
 neither heart disease nor lung trouble,
 nor eye disease, nor waterworks, nor breathing apparatus,
 but only the great audacity of a hostile wife,
 who, producing problems and plausible language,
 25 it seems fluently gives forth to me with richness. (eulogōs, ploutarchōs)
 And I will make manifest this woman's spitefulness,
 yet, lord, I fear those more brazen fellows,
 lest they should hear me, and go to my home
 and write reports about me unexpectedly. (akousōsi)
 30 I would far rather, lord, they buried me alive,
 and put me in the earth, and dug me into it,
 than she should learn of what has just been written. (tōn arti graphomenōn)

(The narrative then commences, closed by a brief epilogue (268-74), in which the speaker warns his patron that unless he takes swift action 'you will lose your Prodromos, your finest congratulator').

Proem II (MS H). From the same similar (verses).

- My most revered master, master, glory, honour and my pride, (authentia)
 the poor man, who is destitute, encircled,
 encompassed on all sides by myriad misfortunes
 and besieged by woes uncountable,
 5 wishes to speak out his affairs unto his lord; (eipein)
 if it were master and servant like yourself and me,
 (and if) he were to sit and take soundings, speak and write (psēlapha, legē, graphē)
 'political' metres/jests and political writings/citizen affairs, (metriasmata, politographias)
 and frequent spoutings-forth and high-sounding words,
 10 yet from necessity they would reduce (him) to loquaciousness; (perittolexian)
 then let him write and speak whatever moves to pity, (graphē, lalē)
 whatever moves to mercy and compassion;
 for he who writes fluently and speaks verbosely (legōn tsourouchias)
 seems to be a simple soul who does so from extravagance.
 15 But as for me, I have departed somewhat from my susceptibility; (eupatheian)
 instead of moans and groans, laments and tears,
 I write words which give pleasure, words of delight, (rēmata)
 because, by your love and on your life,
 I have a sore-vexed soul, a heart aggrieved,
 20 eyes much inourning and entrails on fire,
 and a parched rumbling from eating dry food. (gourgouron, xerophagian)

(MS G). From the same to the Sebastokrator.

- My most revered master, glory and my pride,
 a poor man, who is destitute, encircled,
 encompassed on all sides by myriad misfortunes
 and fenced around by woes uncountable,
 5 I wish to speak out my affairs unto my lord;
 and if it were master like yourself and speaker like me,
 and he were to sit and take soundings, speak and write
 'political' metres and political writings,
 and many spoutings forth and noisome words,
 10 he would reduce himself to the language of prose. (pezolexian)
 I write and speak those things which move to pity,
 which move to mercy and compassion;
 whoever writes extravagantly and speaks verbosely (legōn serphetias)
 seems to be a simple soul who does it from extravagance.
 15 As for me, I have been diverted from the straight path, (ek tēs eutheias)
 and always with many moans and groans and lamentations
 I write the pleasure of words and the joy of letters, (rēmatōn charmonēn
 grammatōn terposunēn)
 yet I do it not from joy, nor from simpleness of soul,
 but rather in the name of the sore affliction now besetting me,
 20 in the name of the despairing long perambulation (pezoporian)
 — o woe — to the palace and up to the church,
 let me tell you how things are, let me set it out,
 take care, only take care you do not bury me.

(The narrative section in MS H is rounded off with an epilogue (101-17), addressed by 'Ptochoprodromaton' to his patron, complaining that he cannot live off moun-

tain greens, locusts or his landed property, and begging for succour if his continued praises are required. MS G breaks off at line 105).

Proem III (MSS H, CVA, S, g). Verses of the *grammatikos*, kyros Theodoros Prodromos. Of Ptochoprodromos the second book against abbots (g); Of Ptochoprodromos to the emperor lord Manuel Komnenos, the Purple-born (V); Other verses of Hilarion, the monk Ptochoprodromos, to the most revered emperor lord Manuel the Purple-born and Komnenos (S); Verses of Hilarion the monk, Ptochoprodromos, to the emperor Manuel the Purple-born (A).

- H1 a Hardly escaping, lord, from the hands of the foes,
 b I came as far as the shelter of your sceptre's might,
 c for even as the bright trumpet of your achievements
 d has not urged silence, so let it sound forth praises,
 e and let tears from the heart cleanse the faults,
 f but it has revived entire the lifeless corpse here prostrate,
 g and I have taken refuge in your great majesty,
 h well founded upon the firmly rooted rock,
 i which happens, Manuel, to be Christ the crown-giver.
 j So do not send me off as one debased,
 k who runs towards your shelter with tears, (prostrechonta)
 l but (receive me) as you are, a Christ-like emperor. (Christomimētos)

So accept and dissolve my manifold griefs,
 for they need no great expenditure or cares,
 5 provided you look on them with lenience and tolerance.

So then it is necessary to learn the sick man's pains,
 then in this way to pay off the cure with craft. (entechnōs apodounai)

And marvel at such great daring as the ant's,
 how he escaped entirely from his wretched hole (muōxias)
 10 and at a run perhaps darted against the strong wild beasts, (trechein)
 following fearlessly in the tracks of the lions,
 not at all possessed by the power of their claws.

Think on me, crowned lord, as the ant,
 against the strength and the poverty of words, (tōn lōgon . . . aktēmōsunēn)

- 15 while for the lions, count the rhetors, along with the philosophers,
 who are brave in versifying and in writing (stichizein, graphein)
 and in concocting imperial victory pieces; (sungraphas . . . ekplattein)
 yet they write wisely and according to reason, (graphousi . . . kata logon)

wise men and rhetors as they are, while I write otherwise,
 20 (for I am an unlettered man, a new wearer of rags, (agrammatos, neos rakendutēs)

monk of the meanest, lowest of the low)

rather (I write) succinctly, monastically, simply and most easily.
 Not at all do I write you fables of old stories, (muthous palaion istorion)

such as cost the mind dear, hard to get the sense of,
 25 rather (I write) simple things and clear, familiar to all

who run the lonely course in cenobetic life (trechousin . . . dromon)

and endure, lord, what I am first to write you;
 for in the monastery everything accrues to Philotheos
 which the word/account comes in a short while to check. (logos)

- 30 So then lend to me your ears for a while,
 and I will make all clear to you in deed, king. (anax)

(All MSS close with a long address to Manuel (420-47), appealing for succour in the form of food and money).

Proem IV (MSS G, CSA, g). From the same to the emperor (G); Ptochoprodromos (g); Verses of Theodore Ptochoprodromos to the emperor lord Manuel Komnenos (the Purple-sprung A) (CSA).

- g1 a Hardly daring, emperor, crowned lord, (basileu, despota stephēphore)
 b sceptre-wielding scion of the Komnenoi, most powerful world-ruler, (kosmokrator)
 c I come under the shelter of your golden wings (chruseōn pterugōn)
 d a wretch, entreating, begging, pleading for
 e the attention of your grace's ears;
 f for you are the serene haven of all in need,
 g and so pay me the attention of your most imperial ears, (akoas tas basilikotatas)
 h and do not turn me, a wretched slave, away from you.

- 1a (CSA) Hardly daring, emperor, crowned lord,
 b sceptre-wielding scion of the Komnenoi, most powerful world-ruler,
 c I come under the shelter of your golden wings
 d a wretch, entreating, begging, pleading for
 e the attention of your grace's ears,
 f so that I may speak of my circumstances in greater detail.

g Having only just coursed over the sea of life (paradramōn)
 h which so overwhelmed and nearly sank me,

i I raced to the world-saving harbour (prosedramon)
 j of your Christ-like imperiousness; (christomimetou . . . basileias)

k for you are the waveless harbour of all who take refuge in you.
 l Having just left the sea of salty worries,

m I reached the sea of benevolence;
 n for you are the source of compassion and joy of joys,

o and the sea of godliness and charity,
 p you are the might of regal leaders, the sole king of toparchs,

q in the name of the quadruple kingship, the form of the four Augusti
 r of the new golden Rome, the Rome of Constantine,

s in the ancestry of your might, yea indeed and of the purple,
 t your might shall be proclaimed over the four parts of the world.

u For he, who in address is quadruply august
 v indeed co-signifies the four parts of the Cross;

w for just as the imprint of the Cross happens to bear four parts, (tupos, tetramerēs)

x so you too rule over the world's four parts
 y by means of the quadruply august, for me, the purple-born.

z Yet you, quadruply august, without the tetrarchy, (tetraugoustē)

aa wield mightily the sceptre of single rule,
 bb aided by the most God-ruling trinity.

cc For if some of those in power have evil thoughts
 dd + were to look askance and envy us, +

ee by a mere gesture on your part, just a nod,
 ff like smoke they will disperse before your face,

gg fearing lest they be burned, monarch, single ruler, (monarcha monokrator)
 hh lest they be turned to ashes by the brightness of your face,
 ii even as wax melts when faced with fire;

jj as happened a short while ago to Dantonis and Melias,
 kk and Nouradinos with them, out of limitless stupidity,
 ll as well as to a certain Neeman, who had erstwhile revolted. (*o prin apostatēsas*)
 mm But let me return once more unto my story:
 nn having just been saved from the difficult worries of life
 oo which were overwhelming and drowning me,
 pp I came quickly, as you see, as if from the waves,
 qq to the serene might of the empire,
 rr to the haven and refuge of all in need.
 ss But pay me the attention of your ears, turn not away from me,
 tt your wretched slave and menial servant, who is in your debt; (*doulon, oikeiēn, katēchreiōmenon*)
 uu for if I began to speak the words of fable-mongers, (*muthoplastōn*)
 vv you, emperor, would easily have solved them all,
 ww for in you took residence the providence of God,
 xx Solomon's ineffable and theosophic wisdom.
 yy But let me start acquainting you with my circumstances,
 zz and how much loss I suffered, thrice-miserable.

- 1 aaa from learning letters and from reading books
 bbb and from the silly myths of ancient fable-mongers. (*muthourgōn, leromuthourgias*)
 ccc Here, then, I will tell you all from the beginning.

Byzantine historiography and modern Greek oral poetry: the case of Rapsomatis*

RODERICK BEATON

In the ninth book of the *Alexiad*, Anna Comnene tells the story of the simultaneous revolts against her father Alexios which broke out in Crete and Cyprus in the year 1093. The rising in Crete was shortlived, as the Cretans changed their minds and murdered their leader on hearing the news that the emperor's fleet was approaching. Of the Cypriot revolt, however, Anna has the following tale to tell: The Cypriots, under their leader Rapsomatis, at first refused to fight after the emperor's forces landed in Cyprus, apparently expecting to talk their way out of a conflict. Rapsomatis, a complete novice in the arts of war, had embarked on the revolt more as a game than in earnest; and was easily defeated by Manuel Voutoumitis, captured and sent to the emperor's brother-in-law John Doukas who was in charge of the campaign. Anna's account ends,

ἀναλαβόμενος τὸν Ῥαψομάτην καὶ τοὺς συναποστατήσαντας αὐτῷ
 ἀθανάτους ἐπάνεισι πρὸς τὸν Δούκαν, καὶ οὕτως εἰσεισι πρὸς τὴν
 βασιλεύουσιν.¹

* This article is based on a paper given at the XVIIIth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, held at the University of Birmingham in March 1983, entitled "Life and Death in Byzantium", in a section devoted to "literary perceptions". My thanks are due to the participants in that panel, and particularly to Margaret Alexiou, Paul Magdalino, Anthony Bryer and Donald Nicol, for their comments and advice at various stages of preparing this article.

1. *Alexiad*, IX, 2.

Anna provides the only source for this curious and not very momentous episode of Byzantine history: Glykas and Zonaras merely echo her account, omitting most of the details, and Glykas manages to mix up Cyprus and Crete. Modern historians have merely accepted it at face value.² Certainly there is no reason to doubt that such a revolt took place and was quelled as Anna describes. But her eye for detail has led her to produce a narrative which on closer examination appears distinctly odd. Who was this Rapsomatis, and how did he come by his strange name? And if he was as under-age and incompetent as Anna says, how did he manage to lead an initially successful revolt? Anna's description of his inexperience and ineptitude have been taken as an instance of her 'banana-skin' humour³, but neither she nor her commentators seem to have wondered why this incompetent boy-hero was followed not just by the Cypriots, but by a section of Alexios' crack Greek troops, the Immortals.

These oddities, coupled with a close reading of Anna's account at certain points, strongly suggest that what we have here is not history at all, but belongs to a discourse of quite another kind, embedded in a historical text. Hints of this are given in the following passages:

ὡς ἀπειροπόλεμος καὶ στρατηγικῶν τεχνασμάτων ἀδαής. . . ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν μηδὲ συμπλακῆναι βουλόμενος ὥσπερ ἐν παιδιαῖς μεираκίων. . .⁴

The Cypriot leader is inexperienced in war and unversed in strategy. What is more, he makes war as if it were a child's game. But the most telling part of Anna's description of Rapsomatis comes a few lines later:

(ἦν γάρ, ὡς ἔγωγε περὶ τούτου ἤκουον, χθὲς καὶ πρόην ἡμμένους ξίφους καὶ δόρατος καὶ μηδ' ἐπιβῆναι ἐφ' ἵππον εἰδώς, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τύχοι ἐπιβεβηκώς κἄθ' οὕτως ἐξιπλάσασθαι βούλοιτο, ταραχὴν εἶχε καὶ σάλον· οὕτως εἶχε περὶ τὴν στρατιωτικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἀπειρώς ὁ Ῥαψομάτης)⁵

2. Glykas (Bonn) 620; Zonaras, XVIII, C.22; K. Sathas. *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη* II p.ξδ'; G. Hill, *The history of Cyprus* Vol. I (London 1949) 297 and n., S. Runciman, in *Footprints in Cyprus*, ed. D. Hunt (London 1982) 151.

3. G. Buckler, *Anna Comnena: a study* (Oxford 1929) 506-7.

4. *Alexiad*, *ibid.*

5. *ibid.*

Anna has *heard* this information (ἤκουον) from an oral source; and one is immediately reminded of her impressive claim towards the end of the *Alexiad*, to have "woven the fabric of her history" from a wide variety of sources — non-literary documents in simple language, oral tales of old soldiers, as well as personal reminiscences of her father and other dignitaries.⁶ But what kind of oral source was Anna drawing on here to have produced these details about Rapsomatis?

For answer I suggest that we turn to oral folk songs, recorded almost a millenium after Anna's time. First I hope to show how the elements of Anna's narrative that do not make very good sense historically belong perfectly naturally, and together, in the oral discourse of modern Greek folk poetry. Secondly to come back to the methodological problem of how this evidence from a much later period can legitimately be used, and what it can tell us about a Byzantine literary discourse such as Anna's.

The group of narrative ballads conventionally entitled by editors 'O Porfyris',⁷ after the hero of some of them, tells, with variations, the following story: The hero has no father; his mother is a widow, a nun or a Jewess (the absence of a father and the marginal social status of the mother constitute by implication a serious handicap in traditional Greek society). The young hero immediately compensates for his handicap by exhibiting an unnatural appetite for vast quantities of food while only a few days old (more bread than the bakers can bake, a whole ox and its mother as well), by the age of five he has mastered the use of sword and spear, and can ride a horse. While still an infant (in years at least) he declares that he fears no one in the world, naming a list of champions of undoubted, but not specific, Byzantine pedigree. The king gets to hear of this and sends out an army against him. Our hero as a result disguises himself as a shepherd (in Cypriot versions, despite his Jewish origins, we sometimes find him herding pigs instead)⁸ and prevaricates with the army sent out to look for him. Finally, he reveals himself and either

6. See *ibid.* XIV, 7.

7. Selections from the many known variants of the ballad may be found in A. Θέρπος, *Τὰ τραγούδια τῶν Ἑλλήνων* (Athens, 1951), Vol. I, pp.97-103; Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν, *Ἑλληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια* (Athens 1963) I, 54-8.

8. See e.g. Θ. Παπαδόπουλος, *Δημῶδη κυπριακά ἄσματα* (Nicosia 1975) No.B 15. *Ὁ Κύκλος* (Larnaka) 13 (1982) 6-7.

allows himself to be, or is forcibly, bound hand and foot, and *his eyes are sewn up*. His captors parade him round the villages and castles, including the one where his wife or loved one or mother lives, and she taunts him, telling him to throw off his chains. Most versions end with him accomplishing this Houdini-act and slaughtering his enemies.

As one might expect from the oral tradition of folk poetry, there is a good deal of variation in the details of the narrative in different songs; and its constituent elements — the *themes* of which all Greek oral poetry is built up — are also found in songs which tell quite different stories. But the Porfyris group of ballads regularly contains three themes which are present in a strikingly similar configuration in Anna's account: 1) revolt against the king, 2) extreme youth of the hero, 3) hero taken prisoner, especially the detail *καὶ ράβουν τὰ ματάκια του/ράφουν καὶ τ' ἄμμάδκια του*, with its immediate echo of the name *Ῥαψομάτης* in Anna's account.

The geographical locus of this folk song is the eastern Aegean and Anatolia — it is found in Crete, the Dodecanese, Cyprus, Cappadocia, Pontos and Thrace.⁹ The theme of the prodigious growth and precocious feats of the hero is panhellenic, and can be traced back to the Homeric hymn to Hermes, since when it also became incorporated into the popular Hellenistic Alexander romance and the epic/romance of Digenis Akritis, which in some form must have been in circulation during Anna's lifetime.¹⁰ The detail of the sewing up of the hero's eyes is less widespread in the folk tradition: though it is found in all the areas where the Porfyris ballad is sung, it is not unusual to find this particular detail omitted the further north one goes. This detail seems to be geographically centred on Cyprus: and it seems to be only, or at any rate chiefly, in Cyprus that it is also extended to another group of songs whose main theme is quite different from that of Porfyris — the songs in which the hero's wife is abducted by a rival. The hero then allows himself to be bound before shaking himself free to wreak revenge.¹¹

9. For a rare variant from the Cyclades see *Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν, op. cit.*, 56-7.

10. See R. Beaton, "Digenes Akrites" and modern Greek folk song: a reassessment', *B51* (1981) 22-43.

11. Usually entitled *Τὸ ἄσμα τοῦ Κωσταντᾶ*. See e.g. Α. Σακελλάριος, *Τὰ Κυπριακά* (Athens 1868) III, 3-8; Ξ. Φαρμακίδης, *Κυπριακά ἔπη* (Nicosia 1926) Nos. 5,6.

The conventionally established way of dealing with such a corroboration between a Byzantine historical source and a modern folk song, first advocated by Zambelios, Büdinger and N.G. Politis in the last century, and taken to its limits in this by Henri Grégoire and Stilpon Kyriakidis, is to identify the historical event with the origin of the folk song. But if a historical event provoked the archetype of the Porfyris songs, it can hardly have been the minor revolt of Rapsomatis, an event whose impact was confined wholly to Cyprus, while the ballads are found distributed across a much wider area. If a historical genesis must be sought for the folk songs, then the revolt of Constantine Doukas in 913, following the death of Leo VI, is at least slightly more plausible.¹²

My suggestion, however, is that the songs are not historical in origin at all, but mythical, and that Anna's source here is not a factual account but a song or mythical narrative from oral tradition, to which the historical circumstances of Rapsomatis' revolt had become temporarily, or partially, attached.

Of the three themes shared between Anna's account and the folk songs, the first to be considered is that of revolt. The mythical world of oral tradition, no less than recorded history, is full of such revolts, and this, I suggest, provides the common ground across which the mythic narrative of Porfyris has passed into Anna's historical discourse. The folk song is about revolt; and a real historical revolt took place in Cyprus in 1093. But the essence of a folk song which has this subject for its theme, is that it is about Revolt, *any* revolt; and the desire for local independence or merely the assertive individual independence of a local hero is a condition which has applied throughout much of Greek history. It is not at all incredible that oral songs on this theme should have developed continuously in the eastern Aegean and Anatolia since Byzantine times, and the persistence of authentically Byzantine proper names in very many variants of these songs is further evidence for such a long and continuous tradition. Heroes are most commonly called Kostantinos, Porfyris, or variants of each; both names symbolically associated with imperial power. And the names of the hero's rivals — variations

12. This was Grégoire's proposal (see *Ὁ Διγενής Ἀκρίτας* (New York 1942) 25-8); and has been repeated without question in authoritative modern collections of Greek folk poetry.

on Vardas Fokas, Nikiforos and Mavrotrachilos — refer us clearly enough to the Byzantine world, although it is probably a mistake to imagine that they preserve any historical memory of actual individuals.

The second theme, of the hero's extreme youth and inexperience, relates to the part of Anna's narrative that makes least sense historically: are we really to believe that such a callow youth could present a serious challenge to her father's imperial might? And what were the Immortals (or some of them) doing supporting him? If we set alongside Anna's account already quoted, the following folk song text from Cappadocia:

Χρονιάρης πιάνει τὸ σπαθί, στὰ δύο τὸ κοντάρι,
στὰ τρία καὶ στὰ τέσσαρα πινεύ' καβαλικεύει,
Πίνεψε, καβαλῖκεψε, κατὸς δρόμος πηγαίνει.¹³

it is possible to suggest what has happened. Both the information and the structure of the narrative (sword, spear, riding a horse, in that order) are identical, but the two kinds of discourse place diametrically opposed evaluations on it. In the folk song tradition, the champion who takes on the king and all his armies, starts out with a handicap (he has no family) and compensates for this by his ferocious precocity. (It may be no accident that Anna tells us nothing about Rapsomatis' parentage.) In the folk songs the hero's extreme youth is a sign of his *supernatural power*; to Anna's historical mind it is a sign of *natural weakness*.

The myth of the precocious hero has a long tradition in Greek, and is widespread in the modern tradition of folk song, far beyond the confines of the Porfyrus group of songs with its limited geographical distribution. A recent attempt at synchronic analysis of these songs, in terms of an underlying theme of social ambiguity, has been made by Michael Herzfeld,¹⁴ and provides interesting evidence for the mythic nature and function of the theme. Herzfeld's analysis gives greater force to the argument that such songs may temporarily become attached to historical happenings, but do not owe their existence and continued transmission to them.

13. Θέρος, *op. cit.*, No. 29, lines 3-5.

14. 'Social borderers: themes of conflict and ambiguity in Greek folk-song', *BMGS* 6 (1980) 61-80.

The third common element is Rapsomatis' name. There is no evidence for this as a historical name, and its constituent elements are consistently found in the phrase *they sewed up his eyes*, in modern songs, primarily on the Porfyrus theme, whose geographical origin is the same as that of the historical Rapsomatis, namely Cyprus. If the name is a nickname, as seems almost certain, it could be suggested that it derives from an already existing folk tradition in which the rebel against the king has his eyes sewn up as a punishment. It is clear from the other details with which the sewing up of the eyes is accompanied in the modern songs, that its function is mythical, and this somewhat surreal detail is perfectly at home in its folk song context. In addition to having his eyes sew up, or instead, the hero is bound with iron bands, his hands and feet are chained, his lips are also sewn, his shoulders are weighted down with lead,¹⁵ and then he is taken as a prisoner round all the castles and towns. In Pontic versions his eyes are (more realistically, but less memorably) bound, not sewn, and in one he is taken as a prisoner to Constantinople.¹⁶ The precise symbolic or mythical significance of the sewing up of eyes remains elusive. Nothing like it is recorded in Stith Thompson's compendious *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*.¹⁷ All that can be said here is that it is chiefly found and most widely diffused in Cyprus, that it is always found in a context of immobilising a deceptively powerful opponent (he is very small, he can change himself into a shepherd, but he can challenge the king, he can throw off his chains.) There is perhaps an older mythological parallel in the binding of Proteus, although no convincing similarities of detail are apparent. Finally, the motif of the sewing up of eyes could be linked with the Cypriot formula, ubiquitous in folk song in Cyprus.

νά φέρουν φῶς τ' ἄμμάδκια μου, καὶ νοῦν ἢ κεφαλὴ μου,
καὶ λογισμὸν τὰ μέλη μου . . .¹⁸

which can serve as a preamble to almost any speech or action — and of course the perennial Greek (and not only Greek) equation of 'the light of one's eyes' with life.

15. See, respectively, Θέρος, Nos. 29, 30, Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν, 54-8, Nos A, Γ'

16. See Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν, *loc. cit.* Γ'.

17. Revised and enlarged edition, 6 vols (Copenhagen and Indiana 1955-8).

18. See e.g. Σ. Κυριακίδης, *Ὁ Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης* (Athens 1926) 140-9, lines 30-1.

Precisely how this folk song motif came to be a proper name we are never likely to know. But much of the improbability of the name is removed if it is taken as an allusion, possibly by the supporters of the historical Cypriot leader, to a well-known *topos* of the folk tradition. The giving of the nickname, and the linking of his revolt to songs of the Porfyris type could have been the work either of his supporters who liked to equate him with a champion of supernatural powers, or ironically after his defeat, when the name 'Stitch-eyes' might have been taken to imply both blindness in the sense of miscalculation, and the penalty which most probably awaited Rapsomatis in Constantinople. Either way I would suggest that what Anna heard were songs, or possibly tales, but in either case part of the popular oral tradition then current in Cyprus, in which a historical character and a historical revolt had already become assimilated into the synchronic pattern of folk mythology.

The case of Rapsomatis is not, it may be hoped, a mere curiosity. It provides an unusual instance of the way in which the oral traditional discourse of the ordinary populace of the Byzantine Empire could be adopted, half-digested, to form the basis of a historical narrative in the learned tradition of the imperial court. If this suggestion is correct, then Anna's poker-faced misunderstanding of her source has its amusing side (and the detail about Rapsomatic suffering from vertigo when mounted on horseback would have to be her own invention). It is a commonplace of Byzantine historical studies, that the discourse of ancient historians rises up as a barrier between the Byzantine historian and the real-life material of history: the Turks are called Persians and the plague of 1347 in Constantinople is described through Thucydides' description of the plague of Athens in the time of Pericles.¹⁹ But the case of Rapsomatis suggests that it is not only *ancient literary* discourse that may be found embedded in Byzantine texts. It provides corroboration of Anna's own account of her method, in seeking oral sources, but more tellingly points up her limitation in handling such a source. And if even Anna, with her unconcealed literary and social snobbery, is not impervious to the discourse of contemporary popular tradition, then we might expect to find a great deal more of it embedded

in the work of less proud authors. Anna's use of an identifiable nexus of themes still current in the modern oral tradition, allows us to project those elements of the tradition back to the late eleventh century. This is not to 'date' modern songs to that period, or even to try to identify the origins of particular songs, but to confirm the existence *then* of themes and of a cohesion between particular themes, which *now* form part of the tradition. And the knowledge, which we can derive from Anna, that this particular group of themes attached itself to the revolt of 1093 in Cyprus gives a historical depth to our understanding of a modern tradition whose function can best be understood as synchronic. In particular, if we look at the range of reference that these themes have in Cyprus in the recent tradition, we can at least hazard a guess at what the synchronic function of the same mythical themes may have been in Anna's time.

In modern versions of the Porfyris songs in Cyprus, the hero, disguised as a swineherd, miraculously conjures up bread and water for the army pursuing him before revealing his identity,²⁰ and Ioannis Kakridis has recently compared this feat with Christ's miracle of the loaves and fishes.²¹ Moreover, Herzfeld cites a Cypriot popular text about the nativity "in which Jesus experiences a miraculously rapid growth somewhat like that of Porfyris; while the Virgin is portrayed as a 'foreign woman' (xeni) who gives birth to the Holy Child on a mountainside".²² If these hints from the present-day tradition can be extended back to Anna's time, we can infer from them something of the perception of Rapsomatis' revolt from the opposite side from Anna's. The mythological figure after whom Rapsomatis is given his nickname is not only a claimant of earthly power (Porfyris — the imperial purple, "what is Caesar's"), but in the most far-reaching sense a saviour — a good shepherd, a worker of miracles which link him more or less directly with Christ.

His superhuman act of freeing himself from such extravagant bonds in the songs (which naturally has no part in Anna's narrative) can be seen as evidence of a deeply felt wish-fulfilment, on the part of the emperor's more distant subjects, for a hero who might deliver them from such bonds. A careful examina-

19. See e.g. D. Nicol, *The last centuries of Byzantium* (London 1972) 224.

20. Παπαδόπουλλος, *op. cit.* No.B15.

21. Ι. Κακριδής, "Ο Προσσύρκας", *Ο Κύκλος* (Larnaka) 13 (1982) 3-5.

22. *op.cit.* 78.

tion of other such correspondences between Byzantine texts and modern oral material may enable us to build up a picture of an unofficial oral discourse. The case of Rapsomatis provides evidence that such discourse existed and was known to a learned and aristocratic historian, to the point that traces of it are unwittingly preserved. And it also gives positive support to the hunch that the unrecorded oral discourse of some parts, at least, of the Byzantine empire, was profoundly subversive.

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Everyday Life in Byzantium: Some Problems of Approach*

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General interest in the 'everyday' life of past societies and cultures, particularly when they are felt to be relevant to our own civilisation and its history, is a widespread and usually taken-for-granted phenomenon of our times. Books on subjects such as 'Everyday life in Greece and Rome' or 'Daily life in Carthage', consisting of popularised (and often, perhaps inevitably, rather oversimplified, and even muddled) renderings of more esoteric scholarly research, are regular additions to the vast amount of 'serious' and 'non-fictional' literature printed each year and produced by the world's (and more particularly European and North American) publishing houses.¹ But how useful are such books?

* This is an emended and much revised version of a paper read at the XVII Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies held at the University of Birmingham, March 1983.

1. Such works range from the most general and popularising of books such as P. Arnott, *The Byzantines and Their World* (New York 1973) to more scholarly products aimed at both specialists and a lay readership, works which examine the nature of Byzantine culture and civilisation from a more critical position, and which are in most respects hardly comparable with the popularising works referred to. Three recent examples worth mentioning here are: H.-G. Beck, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend* (München 1978); C. Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London 1980); and A. Kazdan, G. Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium: an Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies* (Washington D.C. 1982). For a more general but still quite useful synthesis, see also G.G. Litavrin, *Kak žili Vizantiicii* (Moscow 1974). The most extensive attempt to catalogue everyday culture and practice in the Byzantine world, still a useful starting-point from the point of view of material practice, is, of course, Ph. Koukoulès, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, I-VI (Athens

Clearly, they must fulfil some cultural function. Do they present, in however dilute a form, the results of valuable scholarship? Or can they be dismissed by the scholarly world (which is, however, closely bound up with their production) as misguided misrepresentations intended to exploit a commercial market and/or to reaffirm contemporary ideological discourse, whether this be of national origins, notions of 'progress' and human achievement, or whatever? It would not be difficult to make out a reasonable case for each of these positions. I cannot hope to provide answers here, since this would involve a discussion both of concepts of the usefulness of such knowledge and the institutionalisation of its production, as well as of contemporary notions of the relevance of 'history' in general. But the problems do provide an opportunity to ask another question in the context of Byzantine Studies: is it anyway possible or worthwhile asking questions about everyday life in such a remote society? And if it is, what means can the historian employ in order to attain this end? What follows is offered as a short comment on current historiographical problems, with some suggestions for approaches to their resolution, rather than a set of concrete solutions.

We all have some idea of what may have constituted the everyday in Byzantine society, given our knowledge of the nature of Byzantine Christianity, of Byzantine administrative and institutional practices, of Byzantine literary and historiographical concerns, and so on. One might well ask, what is the point of trying to elicit any more than these clearly subjective responses from the evidence? The question is best answered by taking one particular aspect of Byzantine attitudes to their world and their day-to-day lives, and seeing how far it can take us. I want to take Byzantine notions of the 'social' and the 'anti-social' as my example; for, in trying to determine what, for most members of the Byzantine cultural world, constituted social or anti-social behaviour, we are also trying to see what constitutes a Byzantine person as such. In other words, we are trying to determine how

1948-56). While marked by an often uncritical mode of analysis and use of sources, it remains a valued guide. For the most recent comment on this theme, see C. Mango, 'Daily Life in Byzantium', *JÖB* 31/1 (1981) 337-353 (Akten des XVI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses 1/1), see 337-8; and *idem*, 'Addendum to the Report on Everyday Life', *JÖB* 32/1 (1982) 252-7 (Akten des XVI. Int. Byz.-Kongresses 2/1).

the various practices which made up the social reality of Byzantines was given expression through Byzantine accounts of their world, and how such accounts served to continuously reproduce that world and to 'carry it on', by constituting Byzantine attitudes, beliefs, emotions, all sorts of human responses to both everyday and unusual occurrences. 'Byzantines' were, just like members of any human group, born into an already-given set of norms of behaviour, of explanatory and legitimating practices about the world, its physical properties as far as they are perceived, experienced and rationalised, its inhabitants and what is expected of them within the context or place they are assigned. Patterns of behaviour, of emotional responses such as love, fear, anger, pleasure and so on, are already laid out and are subsequently both inculcated and absorbed by the recipient in the most subtle (and the most brutal) of ways — in the modalities through which parents or guardians in different social groups or in different cultures care for their newly-born; through which the young see their elders communicate their desires and feelings to them and to each other (and also how they fail to do so); and through the conscious and felt demands made of them by progressively increasing circles of social contact: siblings, parents, family, village, district and so on. Language itself both structures and is structured by the 'cultural', and no amount of skilful translation or insight alone by a commentator from a different culture can retrieve the reality of the writer of a text — this is both epistemologically impossible as well as self-deceptive on the part of the researcher who believes that this is what they are doing.² Clearly, our ability to approximate to such experienced reality

2. For some useful approaches to the study of the construction of social realities, roles, institutions, see P. Berger, Th. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (Harmondsworth 1971); and in particular, T.W. Goff, *Marx and Mead: Contribution to a Sociology of Knowledge* (London 1980) esp. 55ff; and J. Heritage, *Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology* (Cambridge 1984); also J. Douglas, ed., *Understanding Everyday Life* (London 1971); R. Harré, P.F. Secord, *The Explanation of Social Behaviour* (Oxford 1972); and see my comments in 'Ideology and Social Change in the Seventh Century: Military Discontent as a Barometer', *Klio* 68 (1986) 139-190 and literature. Modern work in this field is enormous and ramified, involving the whole spectrum of sociology and social psychology. The discussions and literature given in the works cited above will give some idea of the complexity of the field, the diversity of approaches, and the nature of the problems, both theoretical and methodological, which have still to be tackled. For a recent survey, see K.J. Gergen, 'Social Constructionist Inquiry', in *The Social Construction of the Person*, eds. K.J. Gergen, K.E. Davis (New York 1985) 3-18.

depends upon our distance in time and place culturally from the object of study, and so 'cultural intuition' can to a degree provide a mode of interpretation. I will return to this shortly.

I would like to take these assumptions about how Byzantine society (and indeed all societies) functioned as my starting point; and in doing so I shall be taking certain aspects of the cultural constitution of human beings for granted: namely their need to make sense of experience in order to survive — the need for culture in the sense in which Clifford Geertz has used it, as a 'web of meaning'.³ Human beings are guided by cultural, rather than genetic, patterns of responses — the exceptionally long period spent in learning patterns of behaviour alone would seem to testify to this. And in relating a culturally determined definition of the social or anti-social to its material background, we are doing no more nor less than attempting to relate points of reference in a system of meanings common to a whole society to the material conditions of that society: that is to say, to the effects of human social reproductive practice in and upon the physical environment.⁴

The opposition between social and anti-social behaviour, therefore, might represent a point of tension in a society or set of social relations, and determining how that opposition, that tension, is handled, might be an acceptable way of trying to locate the dynamic of social existence in a given society, even if it does not answer all the questions we might like to ask.

But how are we to set about locating the social and the anti-social? Are we justified in using our common-sense reading of Byzantine sources to lead us in the appropriate direction? And if we think we are, is it not the case that we are assuming a rather essentialist view of human nature (as well as a rather naive view of historiographical interpretation)? That is, we are taking the responses of our own cultural experience and the logic of our own behaviour as normative and basically unchanging. While there are certainly some who would argue in this direction, I suggest that such an approach is justified neither by the most simple 'reading off' from the literary sources; nor by the vast amounts

3. See C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (London 1975) 5ff.

4. By this expression is meant the totality of interrelated social practices which permit and promote the continuation of daily life and the complex structures of the social formation.

of research carried out within the fields of ethnography and anthropology. If we adopt the view of human beings as both needing and continuously producing culture, as outlined just now, then this 'common sense' obviously goes by the board.⁵

It is reasonable to assume that most historians of the Byzantine world would agree with these general points. But it is also reasonable to point out that in practical terms, Byzantinists have done very little to change their approach to problems of this nature. While paying lip-service to some of the insights of work of the sort I have been referring to, we have tended to carry on in our actual historiographical practice the very methods we claim to recognise as inadequate or misleading. Very rarely do we find any justification in an historical analysis for the mode of analysis itself, or a clear statement of the premises upon which any interpretation of historical source materials, literary or otherwise, is based. These remain either unproblematically taken for granted,

5. For some discussions of traditional empiricist approaches and their limitations, see G. Stedman-Jones, 'History: the Poverty of Empiricism', in R. Blackburn, ed., *Ideology in Social Science: Readings in Critical Social Theory* (London 1972) 96-115; G. McLennan, *Marxism and the Methodologies of History* (London 1981) esp. 95ff. For a recent survey, see J.F. Haldon, '“Jargon” vs. “the Facts”? Byzantine History-Writing and Contemporary Debates', *BMGS* 9 (1984-5) 95-132. The most recent attempt to elaborate what constituted Byzantine values and the 'typical' Byzantine — *homo Byzantinus* — while presenting a series of stimulating suggestions for different approaches to Byzantine social reality, nevertheless tends to fall back upon such implicit and intuitive values in order to situate its object of study. See Každan and Constable, *People and Power* (cited n.1 above). A better general starting-point has been outlined by F. Winkelmann, 'Überlegungen zu Problemen des frühbyzantinischen Menschenbildes', *Klio* 65 (1983) 441-458, who sets out clearly the problems facing the historian in coming to grips with Byzantine representations of Humankind in society and in relation to the realm of the spiritual and the divine; and in particular the difficulties facing the researcher in establishing an adequate framework for the assessment and contextualisation of Byzantine literary sources which deal with this subject from a Byzantine perspective deliberately and self-consciously. Note the opening discussion, which provides a good survey of much recent work in this field; and the final remarks, 457-8; Winkelmann's approach is, of course, very different from that of Každan and Constable, although the essential problematic is the same: the 'anthropology', in its classical theological/philosophical application (as opposed to its current social-scientific application) of early medieval Christian cultures, whether viewed from within or without. See the useful opening remarks of F.R. Gahbauer, *Das anthropologische Modell. Ein Beitrag zur Christologie der frühen Kirche bis Chalkedon* (Das östliche Christentum, neue Folge, Bd. 35. Würzburg 1984). Finally, and from a different standpoint again, see the synthesis, with accompanying literature, of K.P. Matschke, 'Sozialschichten und Geisteshaltungen', *JÖB* 31/1 (1981) 189-212 (Akten des XVI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses 1/1), where the current state of the debate, particularly with regard to some of the terminology and the methodological approaches, is sketched out.

or implicit in the text of the analysis itself. But this silence conceals a variety of problems. Every historical analysis and every narrative account of historical developments is founded upon a complex of culturally determined notions about society, human beings, and the causal connections which bind the two together; assumptions which are rooted in the society and culture of the analyst. Every history thus contains 'theories', whether explicit or implicit, and these theories determine the general assumptions upon which selection and interpretation of the evidence is based. Furthermore, the 'facts' themselves are the result of the interpretative activity of the historians, if only because it is they who — within the cultural possibilities open to them — choose the texts, reach conclusions about causal inter-relationships, and determine the level of the argument at which specific pieces of evidence should be invoked. Byzantinists could make substantial contributions to understanding the culture with which we are dealing if we were more willing to make explicit the premises upon which we base our comments about Byzantine society, and more willing to enter into debate about them, beginning with the most basic assumptions about the nature of human culture, which are, after all, crucial to the development of any further model of a society and how we suppose it to function.

Failure to make these sorts of premises clear often goes hand in glove with a related problem. How many Byzantinists, we may wonder, work with the implicit notion that medieval texts somehow speak for themselves, and that all we need to do is simply to read off the data in order to obtain an accurate picture of sets of events or attitudes or whatever? Of course, no-one is quite as naive as this — the assumption that one must 'read between the lines' to a degree and take into account the context — ideological, material or otherwise — is generally present. But is this really enough? Of course, insights are still obtained, and worthwhile and significant results have been achieved. But other cultures are not transparent, whatever position of intellectual privilege we may think we occupy. What anthropologist would today think of entering the Dorze society of Ethiopia, for example — which is Christian, even though this may not be apparent at first glance — and expect to be able to make immediate sense of their social practices? By the same token, an intimate knowledge of, and familiarity with contemporary or recent Orthodox culture,

or indeed Greek rural society, is not *in itself* enough to guarantee the validity of an enquiry into the Byzantine past or into Byzantine beliefs and attitudes. Of course, it can be a great help. But it can equally well lull the researcher into a false sense of being already thoroughly familiar or conversant with the values and practices under examination. A position of intellectual privilege can thus be as misleading as it can be valuable.⁶ In fact, cultures distanced from us both in time and in geography should be assumed to be no more obviously intelligible to us than those of contemporary so-called 'traditional' peoples. We would achieve more understanding, and waste less time in unnecessarily subjective speculation, if we were more open to the methods of other disciplines such as linguistics or anthropology, which have confronted these sorts of problems more honestly; and if we were more prepared to examine the bases upon which we construct our own knowledge of the past.

Now a number of other considerations become relevant at this point. First, it must be clear that theorising without data is a rather pointless exercise; although there is plenty of room for synthesising on the basis of secondary literature when informed by a coherent framework. Second, I am talking less about the generation of theory than about the appreciation of how knowledge of ourselves and the past is constructed — about *how* we are to approach the 'evidence'. Does *it* tell us anything at all? Or do we rather appropriate only the meanings we recognise on the basis of our own cultural knowledge and then claim that this is what it tells us? These are obviously complex issues, and it would be necessary

6. See Dan Sperber, *Rethinking Symbolism* (Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology 11. Cambridge 1975) xiii and passim; and *idem*, 'Paradoxes of Seniority among the Dorze', in: H.G. Marcus, ed., *Proceedings of the First United States Conference on Ethiopian Studies* (East Lansing 1973). A useful reminder of the care that must be taken in applying 'knowledge' of contemporary cultures to their pasts is represented by, among others, J. Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge 1983); and E. Patlagean, 'L'enfant et son avenir dans la famille byzantine (IV^e-XII^e siècles)', *Annales de démographie historique* (1973) 85-93 (repr. in: *eadem*, *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance, IV^e-XI^e siècle* (London, Variorum 1981) no.X); and *eadem*, 'Christianisation et parentés rituelles: le domaine de Byzance', *Annales E.S.C.* (1978) 625-636 (repr. in: *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté*, no. XII), where relationships among kin, assumptions about marriage, and the role of both Christian belief and the Church are presented in terms which cannot be 'read off' from a common-sense understanding of, for example, modern Orthodoxy or Greek village life (neither of which is anyway entirely transparent and subject to such interpretation).

to go into a good deal more detail than there is space for her to do justice to a debate about problems of an essentially epistemological nature.

Third, epistemological considerations of this sort may seem somewhat less relevant to the more fundamentally empirical work required by Byzantinists — the editing of texts, philological and linguistic research, the maintenance and development of bibliographical and lexicographical material without which interpretative and synthesising work would be pointless if not impossible, and so on. But I would argue that even in these 'hard' and 'objective' areas, an awareness of the basically social constitution of one's own attitudes and assumptions about what is, in most respects, a culturally foreign artifact, is of primary importance.

Fourth, and finally, I do not want to suggest that the work of scholars which might, for one reason or another, be open to some of these criticisms, is thereby invalidated or somehow devalued. That would be not only insulting and trivial, it would also be to throw away years of immensely valuable scholarship of fundamental importance to the existence of the discipline or complex of disciplines referred to as 'Byzantine studies'. What I *am* suggesting is that a discussion of our own practice as historians and the making explicit of the frameworks within which we choose to carry on our analyses will enable us to make much better use of one another's work, if only because logical inconsistencies, omissions and so on will be the more readily detected. The whole point of any theory, after all, is not to provide a watertight, dogmatic statement and to force everything to fit that statement consistently. A theory should be a testing ground, so to speak, a set of inter-related constructs about how particular historical instances are to be apprehended in a coherent pattern, both causally and structurally. A theory should, above all, make clear the premises upon which interpretation is based, so that it can be used or modified or rejected accordingly. But a good deal of the historiographical work of Byzantinists which one reads today, however erudite, seems to me rather difficult to build on or to use, at least in a consistent way, constructed as it is from sets of implicit assumptions and subjective judgements which may inform us about a specific event or occasion or phenomenon, but which helps very little in understanding what made Byzantine

society work. Much traditional historiographical work, in its approach to the past, has tended to resist conceptual articulation and thus systematic assessment. We are supposed either to see the point or not, to accept the case or to reject it. Interpretations, locked in by their own details — by the 'evidence' — are presented as self-validating, or — perhaps worse — validated by the supposedly developed sensibilities of the person presenting them, a necessarily rather elitist position. In these terms, what we are talking about is reduced simply to matters of opinion and nothing more. In themselves, these are not insurmountable problems — we do know more about Byzantine society today than fifty years ago. Whether we always understand what we appear to know is, possibly, a rather different matter.

In what follows, therefore, I shall suggest some approaches, bearing in mind what has already been said, that might be of use in trying to locate the 'motor' of Byzantine society, and take the opposition between the social and the anti-social as the focus for this.

Let me begin by proposing a definition: social and anti-social are irredeemably *subjective* categories. They describe behaviour or practices which the members of a society perceive as either conforming to or deviating harmfully from the patterns of social experience which are identified with an accepted world-order. Anti-social behaviour may thus be that felt by members of a social group to threaten the stability of social relations, to call into question the time-honoured social institutions of a society — such as marriage, for example — and to deny the validity of the established order, whether in terms of how people carry on their lives or of what they think. At a less extreme degree, the anti-social is that which alienates by affronting one's sense of decorum, the decent, the 'correct' and so on, senses which are also, of course, part of the much wider spectrum of attitudes and relationships. All societies have some way of defining such behaviour — the term anti-social itself reflects very much the concerns, values and common-sense logic of our own culture.⁷

The nature of social behaviour, and the spectrum of what is acceptable within a society and within different groups within

7. Most anthropological studies will devote some space to discussions of the ways in which the cultures they examine deal with these oppositions. See, for example, the classic study of J.K. Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage* (Oxford 1964).

that society, since it varies from culture to culture and, indeed, within cultures, can thus tell us something about the structure of social relationships, the cohesion or lack of it within or between social groups, and within the 'symbolic universe' or 'thought-world' of the society in question. But we face substantial problems if we take what a text appears to tell us about these matters at face-value, or even at face-value interpreted through our own subjective, common-sense logic. The pattern of structures in terms of which certain gestures of face or hand, or utterances or practices, become meaningful is different from one culture to another. Whatever our common-sense may suggest, it cannot explain past societies and past human practice in its own terms. It may well be that much analysis based in such terms turns out to describe correctly aspects of another society and even to suggest explanations for these aspects. But this is, to a greater or lesser degree, coincidental. For there is no way in which it can justify these descriptions without the help of some more structured critical and interpretational framework which can demonstrate the logic of its conclusions — one may disagree with this logic, but the grounds can at least then be specified and the disagreement located. Without this, we are left merely with a variety of individual responses to the data, and no way of knowing where or why these responses differ.

That the perception of the social and the anti-social varies so greatly from culture to culture can be demonstrated by a few simple examples. In North African Berber society, appreciation of meals and the host's hospitality was traditionally expressed through, among other gestures, loud belching (itself part of a set of ideas about the function of food on the one hand and the body on the other); in middle-class Western European and North American society such behaviour would be, to say the least, frowned upon. In many Asian cultures the nose and throat are cleared by hawking and spitting or violent exhalation through the nostrils — the (modern) European habit of collecting one's wastes in a handkerchief is viewed with distaste as both unpleasant and unclean. In other words, we cannot seriously expect to understand the anti-social in Byzantium simply on the basis of recognition; and although we might, as mentioned earlier, be able to guess at or pick out some aspects of this category on the basis of our general knowledge of Byzantine mores and beliefs, this

will not explain every feature, nor necessarily why it is a feature, except on a rather ad hoc basis. It certainly will not be very helpful in enabling us to see where and how these aspects of Byzantine social practice fit into the general framework of what I have referred to as social reproduction — all the things people do to reproduce the pattern of their existence and the coherence of their social institutions.

To determine what constitutes the social or the anti-social, therefore, we obviously need to provide a wider structure of cultural meaning which will mesh in with social and cultural practice as we can observe it through the medium of literary production and other forms of evidence. This should provide some sort of motor or dynamic for the things people do, and at two levels: on the one hand, what Byzantines themselves thought they were doing; and on the other hand, why we think they did them, and why in one particular way as opposed to any number of possible alternative ways. This is a crucial distinction — what Byzantines thought they were doing may not by any means be identical with what we think they were doing.⁸ In looking at 'anti-social' behaviour, therefore, having once established a coherent way of locating it, we are also looking at one aspect of both a system of signs and symbolisms which helped Byzantines put themselves in a context; *and* of the workings of the motor of social reproduction referred to above.

The first of these two aspects — the generation of a wider structure of cultural meaning — is not too problematic. Here we occupy the sort of privileged position intellectually with regard to the object of study discussed above; for we ourselves share a few elements of the same structure, notably the cultural history of Christianity, the traditions which make it up, and the range of behaviour, social relationships and so on which this corpus of beliefs and traditions and institutions permits and promotes — although this varies greatly across and within modern 'Christian' cultures; and as I will suggest below, we must be careful not to impose our definition of the religious on Byzantines.

8. The problems connected with this first aspect have been summarised by Winkelmann, *art. cit.* (note 5 above). The point has been illustrated nicely, although in a different context, in the useful article of Paul Magdalino, 'Byzantine Snobbery', in *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*. Papers of the 16th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Edinburgh 1982 (BAR International Series 221, Oxford 1984) 58-78.

For Byzantium, we can try to relate these general clues — these inherited cultural characteristics — to more specific historical determinants: the nature of Byzantine political orthodoxy, the symbolism surrounding the emperor, the nature of the state and its relations institutionally with its representatives, with the agricultural producers whose surpluses supported it, with its military and civil bureaucracies; and most importantly, we can relate these clues to the interaction between the social institutional aspects of Byzantine culture (by which I mean kinship relations, for example) and people's beliefs about what they do.

One of the most useful ways of looking at this, I think, is through the medium of personal narrative — in the widest sense of the word. We all construct narratives, whether we are aware of this or not. Most of the time we are not, except when we have to explain something about some event or series of events to another. Recent work in socio-linguistic approaches to everyday phenomena which has taken in both theories of cognition and of culture seems to me particularly applicable here, and what I have to say about narrative is based on the work of both socio-linguists and upon the older work of ethnomethodologists such as Harold Garfinkel.⁹

Such narratives are essentially a cognitive mechanism for the contextualising, explicating and evaluating of experiences and perceptions and, crucially, for relating a concept of self to the events narrated. One can only map out potential courses of action when one has a means of cognitively representing one's own position in relation to the 'other'. For *this* relationship determines the limits of action. It is on the basis of our evaluation of

9. See, for example, W. Labov, J. Waletzky, 'Narrative Analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience', in *Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts*, ed. J. Holm (Seattle 1967) 12-44; W. Labov, 'The Transformation of Experience in Narrative Syntax', in *idem*, *Language in the Inner City* (Philadelphia 1972); and H. Garfinkel, *Studies in Ethnomethodology* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1967) 1-103, 262-283; and see Heritage, *op. cit.* (note 2 above); Berger and Luckmann, *Social Construction of Reality* (cited note 2 above) 113ff; Sperber, *Rethinking Symbolism* (cited note 6 above) 85ff. Note that 'narrative' as a technical term with specific literary implications — as employed in current debates on the structure of story and employment in both literature and historiography — is not meant here. See for the latter the comments of M. Alexiou, 'Literary Subversion and the Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century Byzantium: a Stylistic Analysis of the Timarion (ch. 6-10)', *BMGS* 8 (1982-3) 29-45, at 32ff; and the essays of Hayden White, Derrida and Ricoeur, in *On Narrative*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (Chicago/London 1981).

experience through narrative that we are able to act: to take action in particular ways with particular intentions. People live their lives from day to day on the basis of more or less stable narrative representations of what the world is all about. And, at a higher level of abstraction, symbolic systems and 'ideologies' — I use the term for the moment in as neutral a sense as possible — serve the same function for groups within cultures and whole cultures themselves.¹⁰

Now one of the logical consequences of this is that shifts in the elements or the order of elements out of which narratives are constructed will obviously have to be reflected somehow in the narratives themselves, if these are to retain their effectiveness as devices which locate the individual in her or his world. If these shifts are not taken into account, then the narratives lose their functional relevance and become defunct — a good example might be the failure of a modern political party to respond to shifts among its traditional electoral constituency in attitudes towards key questions such as class identity, nationalism and so on, shifts which in turn are rooted in social and economic factors which may or may not be apparent. The consequences must be obvious. Alternatively, the narratives will themselves be altered to correspond with or to account for the changes — and it is this explanatory framework, I believe, which can most usefully account for why and how changes in both 'popular' beliefs (not a very accurate term, but one which is adequate for the moment) and symbolic systems on the one hand, and official ideologies on the other, actually occur.¹¹

Narrative, therefore, acts as a 'bridge' between the world and how it is experienced and perceived, and the 'self' and one's place in the world: it provides a pattern for action and the reproduction of the 'self' on a daily basis. And it is through narrative that people change their behaviour. Narrative is the key, in this framework, to the structure of cultural meaning referred to earlier, the dynamic of social reproduction: by observing narratives and

10. Some approaches to the concepts 'ideology', 'symbolism' and 'symbolic universe' are set out in Haldon, *Ideology and Social Change* (cited note 2 above) — see notes 15, 16, 24.

11. See Haldon, *Ideology and Social Change*, where I have attempted to show how this framework can help in understanding a particular historical conjuncture: in this case, the developments of the second half of the seventh century.

patterns of social and ideological practice, it is possible to reconstruct the rationale behind the social practices which make up change — and we are a good deal closer to finding out why Byzantines did some things but not others, why they could think some things and not others, could act in some ways but not in others. To bring us back to our starting point, what Byzantines considered 'anti-social' behaviour is one of the pointers to the stability or not of different levels of narrative evaluation.

What I have been trying to describe, therefore, is a way of determining how what Byzantines regarded as the anti-social might be understood in its context, what it meant to the people who held these attitudes and opinions, and where the latter fitted in with their perceptions of themselves and their world.

When we come to examine texts with a view to locating the 'anti-social', it must be clear that Byzantines considered as such a good deal of what we might too consider anti-social: theft, willful damage to personal property or persons or communities, and so on; and the reasons for such common features are not hard to find: a cultural umbrella of sorts codified in Christian tradition and shared by both our world and theirs, and which provides some common evaluative starting points. In addition, the Roman-Byzantine system of private property ownership and the assumptions and legal apparatuses that went along with it provide central elements of both similarity and also continuity of tradition. The words used to describe actions or behaviour which conflicted with these values and assumptions are clear, *anomos* — lawless, *athlios* — wretched/amoral, and so on. But it is also clear from any extensive reading of Byzantine texts that no single concept of the 'anti-social' exists as such. This perhaps obvious fact stresses the point that the principles upon which Byzantines judged one another's behaviour and what that behaviour symbolised depended less upon a generalised idea of the 'social' and of 'society', which we have come to take for granted; than on a concept of the individual in a series of concentric relationships: with God on the one hand; with kin, community, the Orthodox and so forth on the other, a context within which the notions of shame, dishonour and honour also figure large. And the 'anti-social' (I will continue to use the term for the moment) reflects precisely the ties of dependence and the contents of the narratives of ordinary Byzantines which such

behaviour threatened. Thus one has loyalty to kin, village, and so on, to local saint or cult, to the district; to one's master; and to the state. For Byzantines, the 'anti-social' threatens intensely local sets of relationships, unified only at the level of the general: imperial ideology, the Christian *oikoumenē*, and so on. What Byzantines considered to offend against the contents of each of the narratives through which they located themselves in these contexts and which gave their lives meaning was, therefore, 'anti-social'. And while we may recognise some of the actions which might thus be characterised, less obvious elements of Byzantine behaviour illustrating the underlying relationships lived out by them also become clearer.

The nearest Byzantines did come to such a general concept was summed up in the notions of ungodliness and dishonour, expressed, of course, by a variety of terms. The position they occupied with regard to one another depended very much on the social and cultural context in which they appeared appropriate. The frontier society reflected in the epic of *Digenis Akritas*, and to a degree in the writing of the eleventh-century *Kekaumenos*, may well have placed greater emphasis on the latter — although in *Kekaumenos*, at least, the two are closely linked, together with a third, related concept, that of justice/injustice.¹² Like our term 'anti-social', these notions were 'catch-alls' which reflected the starting point for Byzantine evaluations of their world. Such concepts by no means overlapped with what we would to see as 'anti-social'. Ungodly behaviour, for example, covered a range of sins, from failure to accord due respect to the emperor, to petty theft. It does not, for example, cover the purchase of justice through bribes, but it does cover the failure to acknowledge a holy icon, or in one way or another to pay less than sufficient respect to the Holy: in the seventh-century miracles of *Artemios*, for

12. See *Kekaumenos (Cecaumeni Strategicon et incerti scriptoris De Officiis Regiis libellus)*, edd. B. Wassiljewsky, V. Jernstedt (St. Petersburg 1896/Amsterdam 1965) 38⁹sq., 42¹sq., 10sq., 51⁸⁻¹⁵, 62⁹⁻¹¹ etc. It is perhaps worth pointing out here that to speak of 'Byzantines' is necessarily to generalise on a grand scale. Of course, there existed substantial differences over time and between different areas of the empire in respect of many of the 'taken-for-granted' of daily life. The term 'Byzantines' is used advisedly and with these reservations in mind, but serves the purpose of the present discussion. For useful comments, see P. Magdaline, 'The Literary Perception of Everyday Life in Byzantium: Some General Considerations and the Case of John Apokaukos', *BS* (forthcoming). I am most grateful to the author for permitting me to read this valuable discussion in advance of publication.

example, a man was punished by the saint with a rupture for urinating against a column in the Church where his tomb lay; another man was similarly afflicted for doubting Artemios' ability to heal such complaints; while a third unfortunate was threatened with a double rupture unless he ceased his irritating chatter! Blasphemy came under the same heading. The twelfth-century Ptochoprodromos admits that he had already been warned to cease blaspheming, even though driven to it by gnawing poverty.¹³

Similarly, ungodly behaviour hardly covered what we might tend to look upon as the greed of the larger landowners or landholders in swallowing up smallholdings; but it did cover the sale by a merchant of the innocent and unsuspecting son of another man to foreign traders.¹⁴ It exempted by definition the actions of saints and holy men;¹⁵ it covered by definition any activities — including those of the most powerful persons in the state — which were thought to be detrimental to the interests of the Church; Ptochoprodromos' attack on the Hegumen of a (fictional but representative) monastic establishment in Constantinople is part of this — it takes for granted an assumption among its audience/readership that, while the monastic life may be thus brought into disrepute in practice, things ought to be very different. The impropriety of the father and his son ruling the monastery is the first target.¹⁶ The deacon Ignatios refers bitterly in the ninth century to the insupportable scandal injurious to the Church when the state, in order to fend off a surprise attack

13. See *Miracula S. Artemii* (in A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia Graeca Sacra* (St. Petersburg 1909) 1-75) 18⁸⁻¹⁵, 14^{21sq.}, 9⁶⁻¹⁴; and, for blasphemy, *Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire*, edd. D.-C. Hesselung, H. Pernot (Amsterdam 1910/Wiesbaden 1968) iv, 145-148. According to Akropolites, the writer of the *Timarion* is guilty of precisely the same order of impiety and lack of respect for the established values of a Christian society (quite apart from his lack of metropolitan sophistication!); cf. M. Treu, in *BZ* 1 (1892) 361-5; and the Eng. translation by B. Baldwin, *Timarion* (Detroit 1984) 24-26. Akropolites may well have missed (or refused to see) the point of the *Timarion*, but his reaction to this threat to his values is not surprising. For an analysis of the *Timarion*, see Alexiou, *art. cit.* (note 9 above).

14. A. Sigalas, 'Η διασκευή τῶν ὑπὸ Χρυσίπου παραδεδομένων Θουμάτων τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου', *EEBS* 1 (1924) 295-339, see 312-3.

15. Although there were occasions when criticism could be levelled at such persons, as P. Magdalino, 'The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century', in *The Byzantine Saint*. Papers of the 14th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham 1980 (= *Studies suppl. to Sobornost* 5 [1981] 51-66, has demonstrated.

16. *Poèmes prodromiques* (cited n.13 above) iii, 33-5

by the Arabs, imposes an extra levy of grain for the army on ecclesiastical lands. The Patriarch Nikolaos I Mystikos rails against those who dare to conscript monks for the army as directly harmful to the politeia and to God's cause.¹⁷

For, whatever exhortations one reads in imperial edicts, for example, it remains a constant that for Byzantines, personal relations with Heaven and with one's kin, close friends and community received far more attention and commanded greater loyalty than the distant state — even for those who served it. As Kekaumenos says in the eleventh century, love your family and avoid quarrels with your children and in-laws.¹⁸ Keep your daughters confined as though they were prisoners, for a dishonoured daughter brings shame not only upon herself, but upon the whole family and clan.¹⁹ Respect your wife, but above all things, love God and rely upon him for advice and support.²⁰ And if you have any dealings with the state, be impeccably honest, keep relations with the state representatives — including the emperor himself — at a distance, and trust absolutely no-one.²¹ While it is certainly true that the society represented by Kekaumenos in his writings, and the values he describes, are those of the provinces rather than of Constantinople, it is nevertheless reasonable to assume their general validity within Byzantine culture, even if expressed here in a particularly nuanced form. Only under certain special circumstances — the assumption of a spiritual relationship between emperor and subjects, for example, such as that invoked in the *Ptochoprodromika*, and which reflects the ties taken to exist between the emperor and his City, the God-guarded City of Constantinople — was this distance to be overcome. And it is noticeable that the relationship is indeed

17. *Ignatius Diaconus, Epistolai* (ed. M. Gedeon, in Νέα Βιβλιοθήκη Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν Ἑγγραφῶν i, 1 (Constantinople 1903) 1-64 (under the title Ἀδῆλου (Θεοφάνους Νικαίας) ἐπιστολαί) Ep. vii, viii. For these letters see most recently C. Mango, 'Observations on the Correspondence of Ignatius, Metropolitan of Nicaea (First Half of the Ninth Century)', in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen: Texte und Untersuchungen* 125 (Berlin 1981) 403-410. For Nikolaos' remarks, see *Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople. Letters*, edd. R.J.H. Jenkins, L.G. Westerink (CFHB vi = D.O. Texts ii, Washington D.C. 1973) nos. 150, 164; and cf. nos. 73, 88 and 91 with those of Ignatios.

18. *Kekaumenos*, 47^{6sq.}, 51³⁻⁷, 52²⁵, 53^{32sq.}, 62⁷⁻⁸.

19. E.g. *ibid.*, 51⁸⁻¹⁵, and 42³⁰⁻⁴³; cf. 62⁹⁻¹¹.

20. *ibid.*, 2^{5sq.}, 5²⁹⁻⁶³.

21. E.g. *ibid.*, 39^{9sq.}, 40³⁻³¹, 44^{19sq.}, 80⁵⁻⁶.

represented as an intensely personal one, between client/supplicant and patron.²² Whatever the satirical and critical intentions of the poems, and whatever the object of that satire — whether it be the ruling elite of the Comnene establishment (which, it has been argued, had no use for intellectuals of the older tradition),²³ or the corruption within the Church — the contrast between an assumed set of values and behavioural norms on the one hand, and the actuality under attack on the other is present throughout.

The state was certainly a reality in respect of the presence of its officials, often less than welcome in the provinces; but this was displaced to a more distant level of experience. And awareness of the relationship between these two areas of people's lives — daily practice on the one hand, membership of a wider polity on the other — approximates in many ways to what H.-G. Beck in his article *Die Byzantiner und ihr Jenseits* has called notional assent (theoretical conformity to principles which in practice one rarely needs to confront) and real assent (conscious or unconscious implementation of sets of values which are confronted daily).²⁴ There is a difficulty with this approach, in that it can tend towards a more or less formal separation of belief and cognition from practice, thereby reducing the thinkable and thought to mere reflections of the material world. We are back once again with John Locke's famous metaphor of the mind as a blank page. But this is to digress. The model of cognition and practice which I want to describe here is intended to avoid this particular problem by relating experience and practice through cognition. And in these terms the state as a concept occupied a relatively distanced position in terms of day-to-day existence for most Byzantines.²⁵

22. *Poèmes prodromiques*, i, 1-11; ii, 6sq; iv, proem and esp. 1ss-ccc; 149sq., 160-164, 275sq. Also H.-G. Beck, 'Konstantinopel. Zur Sozialgeschichte einer frühmittelalterlichen Hauptstadt', *BZ* 58 (1965) 11-45, see 36ff., 40 and n.80, 44 and n.88, 45; and *idem*, *Senat und Volk von Konstantinopel*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Klasse (München 1966) 26-28.

23. On the nature of these poems and their historical context, see M. Alexiou, 'The Poverty of Écriture and the Craft of Writing: towards a Reappraisal of the Prodromic Poems', in this volume; and P. Magdalino, *Byzantine Snobbery* (cited note 8 above) 68.

24. H.-G. Beck, *Die Byzantiner und ihr Jenseits*, in *Sitzungsberichte d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Klasse (München 1979) Heft 6.

25. See Beck's remarks, for example, in *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend* (cited note 1 above) 84-5. As we have seen, even in Constantinople it was represented through the medium of personal relationships, not as a relationship between groups or individuals and institutions.

Now as long as these two areas and the narratives through which people related them to their own lives, their own idea of 'self', are not in contradiction, all is well; but when a 'credibility gap' does appear, the familiarity of kin and community have first call on loyalties — if only because, in the Byzantine narrative scheme, the state is maintained only *through* personal piety and communal loyalty.²⁶ Disasters and defeats are visited on the chosen people for their sins; and attempts to explain or to rectify the situation invariably lead back to this level of practice — the explanation for the events of the seventh century, Leo III's introduction of iconoclasm, the rejection by the clergy and people of the proposal to unify Eastern and Western Churches in the later period, are all situated within the same context — the narratives through which Byzantines situated themselves and located the point at which personal piety and the world outside intersected.

Now it is apparent that the occurrence of terms such as ungodly bears directly on what we consider to be the religious. And here, I think, we are often in danger of trying to understand Byzantine society by writing it off as somehow less rational, more religious, or whatever. I would make two points. The first is that no society contains or produces more or less belief than any other. If we equate religion with belief in something, then we commit a fundamental error.²⁷ The members of every society, including secular, industrial societies such as our own, believe in something, and each society has its legitimating and symbolic systems. Medieval societies — and indeed pre-industrial societies in general — express themselves in what we perceive as 'more religious' terms primarily because we perceive ourselves or our own society as both more secular and very much more pluralistic. Yet both sets of terms are the result of human beings attempting to make sense of their cosmos, and both are subject to the degree to which human beings feel themselves to be more or less at the mercy of forces outside their control or comprehension, whether social or natural.

26. A position exemplified in the debate in the late 640s and 650s over Monotheletism and the arguments of both the imperial party, and of Maximos and Martin and their followers. Compare the *Typos* issued in 648 (*Mansi* x, 1029-1032, see 1029D-E) with the position of Maximos expressed in the *Gesta in primo eius exilio* (*MPG* 90, 136-172) esp. 164B-165A; and cf. *Maximi confessoris, epistula*, x (*MPG* 91, 449-453) esp. 452D etc.

27. See R. Needham, *Belief, Language and Experience* (Oxford 1972)

The second point is that we must be aware of assuming a greater degree of irrationality — itself an entirely subjective term — in past societies than in our own. The vigour of symbolism in our own culture, and the undoubted presence of ‘rational’ thought in all cultures makes that much clear. What we consider irrational (and what those outside our culture might find irrational in us) is more often than not simply symbolic — not in the semeiological sense, about which I have reservations; but in the sense that symbols evoke rather than mean or explicitly signify. They relate to an area of tacit knowledge, knowledge acquired through culturally-mediated experience at both the intensely personal level of individual perception and experience and the wider level of social and group experience: knowledge which is distinct from the explicit body of knowledge open to a specific learning process.²⁸ Symbols work on the basis of the implicit and almost — in conscious terms — irretrievable. An example: when, in the process of his enquiries, the anthropologist is informed that, among the Dorze, pregnancy lasts nine months, he feels satisfied with their ‘rational’ explanation; when the informant goes on to note that, in contrast, pregnancy among certain other clans lasts ten months, he is presented with what is, in our terms, a quite irrational, indeed a wrong, piece of knowledge. But as such, it serves a symbolic purpose in invoking for members of the community in question elements of their social and cultural experience as a group and as individuals which are impossible for an outsider to determine.²⁹

To return to an earlier point, we must be very careful not to make ‘religious’ a polar opposite of ‘not religious’. To put it dif-

28. This argument has been elaborated by Sperber, *Rethinking Symbolism* (cited note 6 above) esp. 17ff., 85-113.

29. See Sperber, *Rethinking Symbolism*, 3f. No doubt the knowledge among Byzantines (still current in parts of the East Mediterranean area today) that a hare crossing one's path will bring bad luck (see Koukoulès, Βυζαντινὸν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμὸς I.2 (cited note 1 above) 216); that Cilicians are particularly hot-tempered (see *Miracula S. Artemii*, 37¹⁶⁻¹⁷); or even that Vlachs and Armenians are faithless and lazy (see *Kekaumenos*, 74^{4sq.} and *Nicephori De Velitatione Bellica* (in *Leonis Diaconi Caloensis Historiae libri decem et liber De Velitatione Bellica Nicephori Augusti*, ed. C.B. Hase (CSHB, Paris 1819/Bonn 1828) 179-258) 188¹³⁻¹⁴, 188²²-189¹; and Cassia (excerpted in C.A. Trypanis, *Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry* (Oxford 1951) 43) no. 35) is to be understood in the same context. See Koukoulès, *op. cit.*, for a catalogue of other superstitions. On Cassia, see I. Rochow, *Studien zu der Person, der Werken und dem Nachleben der Dichterin Kassia* (Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten 38. Berlin 1967).

ferently, ‘religious’ in a pre-industrial context is effectively an equivalent of ‘social’ for us: the universe was made sense of through a vocabulary which we refer to as religious because it is not our vocabulary. It invokes non-human agencies and, in the terms of our common sense, an often impenetrably ‘irrational’ logic (if we may for the moment use the term!) at every level. Which means that religious, in the broadest sense, is also an equivalent of ordinary/everyday/commonplace. Ungodly, or impious or even godless signifies thus by no means ‘not religious’, but rather not conforming to the norm: different, alien, or even, simply, ‘anti-social’. From this point of view, therefore, to imagine Byzantines as somehow more pious or godly in the rather distanced, spiritual sense, is to invoke a quite inappropriate comparison. They had their lives to get on with like everyone else — they had to survive. The fact that this process was expressed through a particular vocabulary of words and action made no difference to this. A visit to the local holy man, the placing of offerings before an icon or the altar of the Church, morning or evening prayer — these were part of the unreflexive and necessary practice of the everyday. They represent little more than the necessary elements of a narrative which needs to be reproduced in order to feel comfortable and secure. The religious, for the Byzantine, participates directly in the everyday.³⁰

I have come full circle. For members of the east Mediterranean Orthodox cultural world the ‘anti-social’ was expressed through concepts such as ‘ungodly’ because it was through the vocabulary and structured system of meanings of a religious rationale that the world was apprehended and comprehended.³¹

30. See Beck, *Die Byzantiner und ihr Jenseits* (cited note 20 above); and in particular, *idem*, ‘Der Glaube der Byzantiner’, in: *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend*, 257-289, for a much more detailed survey of ‘beliefs’ in the context of the everyday. Note also the contributions of Beck and Averil Cameron at the XVII Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies at Birmingham (1983), summarised in the *Bulletin of British Byzantine Studies* 10 (March 1984) 20, 24, which emphasise similar points within the context of slightly different arguments.

31. It hardly needs to be said that the “common-sense” notion is not always the same as the legal definition or indeed the assumptions underlying the legal definition of the ‘anti-social’, as determined in both legal theory and practice. The law can be invoked usually only where the anti-social can be represented in terms of specifically legal definitions of wrong-doing (whether in secular or canon law). This area deserves a more detailed discussion than can be afforded it here. See for some general comments D. Simon, *Rechtsfindung am byzantinischen Reichsgericht* (Frankfurt am Main 1973).

And, as I suggested earlier, in locating the ungodly through a particular explanatory framework we also take a considerable step towards understanding what disturbed the narrative sequence of Byzantine attempts to grasp their world and what, therefore, motivated Byzantine responses. But as I also suggested, we cannot do this by guessing — that is, just by using our common sense and intuition or our own religious sympathy, based on a reading of Byzantine texts. This alone may produce a plausible description of the data, arranged in a more or less coherent way. But apart from the common-sense justification sanctioned by the logic of our own culture, it must remain unjustified and unjustifiable.

Instead, we need to generate an explicit explanatory framework. One which sets out to make clear exactly why and how we fit all the parts of our analysis together in the way that we do, and why certain conclusions but not others may be a product. One way of doing this is to examine the ways in which we ourselves are formed by and produce knowledge of our own world. Only this way, I think, can we really open up the day-to-day world of the Byzantines; and only this way, of course, can we make it possible to constructively criticise our efforts on more than the traditional highly personalised and often very subjective basis.

I began this paper by suggesting the value for an understanding of Byzantine society of trying to locate rather mundane features of Byzantine 'common sense': how did they define the 'anti-social'? My aim has been more than anything else to argue that we must beware of taking anything for granted, including the logic of our own thought. I would like to conclude by emphasising once more that we are not entitled to view anything in the society we study as 'irrational', in other words, without logical foundation, whatever the consensus. It is surely far more honest, and much more productive, simply to admit the limits of our understanding, and of what we can ever hope to understand. And we can really only do this if we appreciate the foundations of our own knowledge.

As L.P. Hartley says at the beginning of the novel *The Go-Between*: 'the past is a foreign country. They do things differently there'.

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The Encheirion as adjunct to the Icon in the Middle Byzantine Period

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A collection of mostly eleventh- and twelfth-century epigrams in the late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century manuscript 'Marc. gr. 524' was partially published in 1911 by Lampros in expectation of a definitive edition by Konstantin Horna.¹ Unfortunately this edition never appeared. A high proportion of material in the collection relates to art and in the past Byzantine art historians have been reproached for their neglect of such evidence.² Some of the most descriptive pieces are now well

1. S. Lampros, 'Ho Markianos Kodix 524' *Neos Hellénomnemon* 8 (1911) 3-59 and 113-192 (and *ibid.* 4-5 on Horna's work on the manuscript.) The Lampros edition has been used, wherever it is complete, as the basis for the present translations and the numbering used is as given by him. No. 165 has been published in full only by Hörandner (W. Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte* (Vienna 1974) [Wiener Byzantinischen Studien, XI] no. LXXII. The transcription of the hitherto only partially published epigrams nos. 59, 75a and 234 was completed by the author with the kind assistance of Dr. Hörandner. Any errors are attributable to the author alone.

2. '... the art historian for whom, in spite of the long recognised need to correlate religious painting any liturgical poetry, epigrams in general remain ... "an abundant and almost unexploited source of information"', B. Baldwin (quoting C. Mango) in 'The Language and Style of Some Anonymous Byzantine Epigrams', *Byzantion* 52 (1982) 5 and cf. *ibid.*, nn. 3 and 4. Komines, a philologist who has made epigrams the subject of a special study, shows a sympathetic awareness of the scale of problems involved (Ath. D. Komines, *To byzantinon hieron epigramma kai hoi epigrammatopoi* (Athens 1966) 33) and some other philologists have attempted to fill the breach for the art historians (e.g. N. Tomadakes, 'Byzantina epigrammata kai byzantine technē', *Athena* 65 (1961) 3-10; P. Speck, *Theodoros Studites, Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände* (Berlin 1968) [Supplementa Byzantina I]; and W. Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte*).

known, having been published for their art-historical interest by Cyril Mango³ and more recently by Paul Magdalino and Robert Nelson⁴ and, as historical documents, by Wolfram Hörandner.⁵

The present study, based on material from the '524' collection, has been undertaken not so much in the interests of describing the nature and form of the art objects which inspired the epigrams as of examining the attitudes and assumptions which motivated those who commissioned the artefacts and perhaps the epigrams too. For this reason the selection of material was made according to the circumstances behind the commission, not the character of the work of art involved. In the case of offerings made in respect of healing recorded in the collection a remarkable coincidence in form and function was thereby revealed. Of eight such dedications seven are woven hangings (*peploi/encheiria*) and only one an icon. In other words almost ninety per cent of this admittedly small sample showed a regular correlation between healing and hangings dedicated to icons.⁶

The word used to describe these hangings in the text is invariably *peplos* (or *peplon*), but most commonly the lemmata employ the term *encheirion*. This word is also to be found in the same context in other contemporary material,⁷ but Manuel Philes, writing in the fourteenth century, does not use it (although he describes what are to all intents and purposes identical hangings)⁸ and there does not appear to be any consistent correlation between offerings in respect of healing and decorative textile hangings in this later period.

Table I shows the distribution of *encheiria* between ex-voto and thank-offerings in respect of healing and dedications with no stated motive beyond the desire for divine protection and

3. C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs 1972) 220 and 225-228.

4. P. Magdalino and R. Nelson, 'The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century' *Byz. Forschungen* 8 (1982) 124-130 (nos. I-II) and 135-151 (nos. V-XI).

5. W. Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte*, 434 (no. XLVII), 447f (no. LIII), 459 (no. LV), 522-526 (nos. LXXII-LXXIII).

6. See Table I below and Lampros, *Ho Markianos Kodex* 524, 166, no. 280.

7. E. Miller, 'Poésies inédites de Theodore Prodrome', *Ann. de l'Assoc. pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France* 17 (1883) 39ff; *ibid.* (ed.) *Recueil des historiens des Croisades, Historiens grecs*, II (Paris 1881) 692.

8. e.g. 'Eis epiplon pros ton megan Nikolaon' which reads (in translation): 'Because I fear to see thy face . . . receive a veil/covering (*parapetasma*) . . .', E. Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina* (Paris 1855; reprinted Amsterdam 1967) I, 37 (no. LXXXIV.)

TABLE I

Ref.	Dedication	Donor	On Behalf Of	Ex-Voto	Healing	Thank Offering	Other
58	Theotokos ¹	George Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos	Self				X
59	Christ	John Dalassenos	Self				X
62	Peter and Paul	Theodore of Philippi	Self		X ²		
63	Christ	John Doukas Bryennios	Self			X	
70	CHRIST OF CHALKE	Maria Doukaina	Donor's husband, Alexios Komnenos, Kratostrator			X	
75(a)	Theotokos	Theodora Doukaina	Self and husband, Theodore				X
86	Theotokos	Euphemia Kleronoma	Self				X
162(a) ³	THEOTOKOS HOGEGETRIA	John Arvantenos	Self				X
162(b) ⁴	THEOTOKOS HOGEGETRIA	Anna Arvantenos	Self and husband		X		
165	THEOTOKOS HOGEGETRIA	Eudokia Stytiotes	Son (Manuel)		X		
228	THEOTOKOS HOGEGETRIA	George Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos	Self				X
234	Theotokos	Goudelis Tsikandyles	Self and wife, Theodora			X(?)	

1 probably HOGEGETRIA (cf. 228)

2 lemma suggests a thank-offering made after recovery

3 Callicles (ed. Sternbach) XI

4 Callicles (ed. Sternbach) XXVI

patronage in this life and/or the next. It also points up the incidence of offerings explicitly addressed to the miracle-working icons of the Hodegetria and the Christ of the Chalke.

It is interesting to note that the thank-offering given by Maria Doukaina to the icon of the Chalke on account of her husband's cure is paralleled by a similar ex-voto offering on his account by his mother, Eirene the Sebastokratorissa, to the Hodegetria.⁹ Eirene is inclined to attribute his recovery to the Virgin in subsequent dedicatory epigrams.¹⁰ Likewise Eudokia, the wife of Theodore Stytiotes, offers thanks to the Virgin for saving her son from death while entreating her to make him completely well, whereas her husband, in another epigram, attributes the boy's narrow escape to the intervention of Christ.¹¹

Before attempting any analysis of the role of the *encheirion* in Byzantine religious practice, some discussion is called for of its form and manufacture. That the term *encheirion* was used to describe decorative hangings intended for adornment or protection of icons is clear.¹² They were certainly luxury items and, although the customary inexactitude of Byzantine terminology never precisely defines the nature of the fabric, there may be a case for arguing that where the word *oxys* is used as an adjective qualifying the cloth (e.g. *ex oxeos hyphasmatos*),¹³ and not in apposition to references to dyeing or colour (e.g. *oxybaphes*, *oxeochryson*), that it is an indication of the fineness of the material and not of its purple hue. Petit has plausibly interpreted it elsewhere as referring to silk.¹⁴ A sheer fabric of this sort seems a suitable choice for a veil intended as much to enhance the icon's

mystery as to obscure its presence. The *encheirion*'s close relation, the *podea*, which has been described by Frolow, was admittedly often of velvet, but these veils which hung below the icon were designed to bear the weight of votive medallions.¹⁵ There is no evidence in the mid-Byzantine period that the veils which covered the icons performed such a function.¹⁶

Whether these hangings regularly bore the text of the epigrams inscribed upon them is debateable. Surviving examples of textiles bearing lengthy inscriptions indicate that there were no insuperable technical difficulties in incorporating inscriptions on the *encheiria*. Probably the most impressive survivals in this respect are the late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century Serbian embroideries, such as the veil of the relic of Prince Lazar and other offerings associated with the nun Jefimija.¹⁷ Chatzedakis cites a twelfth- or early thirteenth-century embroidered liturgical veil in the Treasury of St. Mark's in Venice which bears a metrical inscription.¹⁸ It can be argued therefore that it was both feasible and to some extent customary by the thirteenth century to combine inscription with decorative elements in church embroidery.

Byzantine precious silks were justly famous and much sought after in the medieval world.¹⁹ De-luxe creations of heavy purple twill, embroidered with gold and silver thread and sprinkled with pearls, such as some of the epigrams describe, were the stuff of which diplomatic gifts and tributes were made and their prestige

9. Appendix no. 70 and C.

10. Appendix, A and B.

11. *ibid.* 165 and 261.

12. A. Frolow, 'La Podéa': un tissu décoratif de l'église byzantine' (hereafter cited as: Frolow, 'la Podéa . . .') *B13* (1938) 497f; Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte*, 526 (no. I.XXIII; cf. T.D. Neroutsou, 'Christianikí Athenai', *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Εἰατίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* 3 (1889) 96.

13. Appendix no. 59.

14. L. Petit, 'Le Monastère de Notre-Dame de Pitié', *JRAIK* 6 (1900) 134 (ref. 120, 1.15), with further references. Du Cange, however, translated *oxy* as *violaceus* and this interpretation has predominated in the work of most subsequent scholars (e.g. J. Ebersolt, *Les Arts Somptueux de Byzance*, (Paris 1923) 21 and *ibid.* nn.1 and 2; Frolow, *La Podéa*, 476 and n.5; M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c.300-1450* (Cambridge 1985) 217; see especially R. Guiland, *REG* 62 (1949) 333-4, n.3.

15. Frolow, *La Podéa*, 461.

16. Frolow's contention (*op.cit.* supra. 477, n.5.) that the veil of the Episkepsis icon bore a mass of tiny icons, is based on a misinterpretation of the Greek source.

17. D. Stojanović, *La Broderie artistique en Serbie du XIVe au XIXe siècle* (Belgrade 1949 in Serbo-Croat with French résumé) fig. 44 and 3 (and fig. 4); G. Millet, *Broderies religieuses de style byzantin* (Paris 1947) 76-78, pls. CLIX-CLXI.

18. E.V. Chatzedakis, *Ekklesiastika kentemata* (Athens 1953) introd. 24, who dated it c. twelfth century after A. Pasini, *Il Tesoro di S. Marco* (Venice 1866) no. 42a, fig. XXIX; but see H.R. Hahnloser ed. *Il Tesoro di S. Marco (Il Tesoro e il Museo)* (Florence 1971) 94-96, cat. no.25, Pls. XXVIII, XXIX, esp. 95f for attribution to early thirteenth century.

19. F. Michel, *Recherches sur le Commerce, La Fabrication et l'Usage des Etoffes de Soie, d'Or et d'Argent*, . . . (hereafter cited as Michel, *Recherches* . . . (Paris 1852) *passim*. It is to be hoped that the contents of Anna Muthesius's as yet unpublished thesis: *Eastern Silks in Western Shrines and Treasuries before 1200* (London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Ph.D 1980) will soon be made more widely accessible through publication. In the meantime see Dr. Muthesius's recent article 'A practical Approach to the History of Byzantine Silk Weaving', *JÖB* 34 (1983) 235-254.

as such was no doubt enhanced by being subject to strict export controls.²⁰ Surviving examples are scattered through Europe's collections,²¹ although unfortunately very little survives from this period.²²

As far as production is concerned, it seems that the Constantinopolitan market was largely supplied by the workshops of mainland Greece²³ and in most cases we must assume that these offerings were produced in commercial work-shops, despite the invariable formula 'made by . . .' followed by the name of the donor (*gegonos para . . .*) which occurs in the lemmata. The 'made by . . .' formula is surely a shorthand version of the phrase 'an offering made by', the word '*anathema*' being omitted because understood.²⁴ Similarly, literary conventions must be taken into account when interpreting the text of the verses. Thus, for example, the claim of Maria Doukaina to have been inspired by zeal to weave a huge *peplos* or veil for the icon of Christ at the Chalke should be understood as no more than a figure of speech in the highly metaphorical context of the verse. However, the lemma attached to one of Christopher of Mitylene's epigrams, which explicitly states that a certain Eirene made the *encheirion* 'with her own hands' (*chersin eēsin hyphene*) indicates that such claim were not all without foundation.²⁵ Indeed there is some

evidence that spinning, weaving and embroidery were commonly practised in the home by gentlewomen, if not by the aristocracy. Psellus describes his daughter's skills at weaving and embroidery, an art which she learnt from her mother.²⁶ That spinning and weaving were also considered suitable occupations for ladies of rank at the Byzantine court may perhaps be inferred from this same author's comment on the Empress Zoe that: 'The tasks that women normally perform had no appeal whatever for Zoe. Her hands never busied themselves with a distaff, nor did she ever work at a loom or any other feminine occupation.'²⁷ The Sebastokratorissa Eirene, to judge by Prodrornos' encomia of her activities, seems to have been a one-woman textile industry.²⁸ From the evidence of the *typika* for six Byzantine convents Alice-Mary Talbot has suggested that the term '*ergocheiron*' may indicate that the nuns practised embroidery as well as spinning and other cloth-making activities.²⁹ One of the epigrams in the '524' collection refers to the nun Euphemia who dedicated an icon to the Virgin, together with an *encheirion*.³⁰ There is no indication as to whether she produced the hanging by her own efforts.

Such offerings can be found, carefully recorded amongst the treasures of a monastery, in many *typika*.³¹ In such inventories,

20. On diplomatic gifts and tributes see Michel, *Recherches* . . . I, 63 and 182, cf. 64, n. 1 and cf. Muthesius, *A Practical Approach* 250. On export controls see J. Nicole ed. and trans. *Le Livre du Préfet* (Geneva 1893, reprinted Variorum Reprints 1970) IV, 1; IV, 4 and IV, 8; and cf. *ibid.* VII, 3 and 5.

21. Michel, *Recherches* . . . I, 187; *Byzantine Art, A European Art*, Catalogue of the Ninth Exhibition of the Council of Europe (Athens 1964) nos. 578-581 (late tenth- to twelfth-century); and Chatzedakes, *Ekklesiastika kentemata*, introd. 16; and especially Muthesius, *Eastern Silks in Western Shrines and Treasuries before 1200*, passim; cf. *eadem* report on the newly established photographic archive of silks at University of East Anglia, in *Akten des XVI. Int. Byzantinistenkongress* (Vienna 1981): *Meldungen zur Plenarsitzung 3.2 JÖB 31* (Beiheft) (1981).

22. Ch. Diehl, 'Le Trésor et la Bibliothèque de Patmos au Commencement du 13^e siècle', *BZ* 1 (1892) 495f; Chatzedakes, *Ekklesiastika kentemata*, introd. 14.

23. K.M. Setton, 'Athens in the Later Twelfth Century', *Speculum* 19 (1944) 195-196; cf. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy* 51, n.75; 601, n.212; 206 and 207, n.293.

24. Cf. Stojanović, *La Broderie artistique en Serbie du XIV^e au XIX^es*. 13f and 36.

25. Appendix no. 70 and E. Kurtz ed., *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios* (Leipzig 1903) 17, no.28. Muthesius, *A Practical Approach* 237, lists 'private workshops in the homes of wealthy Byzantine citizens . . .' as one of the three main channels of production, whereas any spinning, weaving and embroidery practised as a genteel occupation by housebound ladies was unlikely to be on a commercial scale.

26. A. Leroy-Molinghen, 'Styliane', *B39* (1969) 157 and also in M.J. Kyriakis, 'Medieval Society as seen in two Eleventh-Century Texts of Michael Psellus', III, *Byz. Studies/Études Byz.* 4/2 (1977) 159; Greek text in K.N. Sathas, *Mesaionikē Bibliothēkē*, V (Venice and Paris 1876) 66, 1.12 sqq. and 11. 19-20 and in Kyriakis (op.cit.) I, *Byz. Studies/Études Byz.* 3/2 (1976) 85ff.

27. Michel Psellus, *Chronographie*, ed. E. Renauld (Budé Collection Byzantine, Paris 1926) 148; Eng. trans. E.R.A. Sewter, *The Chronographia of Michael Psellus* (London 1953) 137.

28. Lampros, *Ho Markianos Kodix 524*, 26f, no.57.

29. A.-M. Talbot, 'Some Differences in the Monastic Experience of Men and Women', *Abstracts of 10th US Byzantine Studies Conference* (Washington 1984) 36, and now in expanded form: 'A Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women', *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 30 (1985) 1-20 (see p.12); cf. Muthesius, *A Practical Approach* 237 and n.7.

30. Appendix no.86; there is some evidence to suggest that it was not uncommon to give a complement of hangings with a new icon: a fictional example occurs in Ptochoprodromos, *Kata Hēgoumenōn*, ed. D.-C. Hesseling and H. Pernot, *Poèmes Prodrorniques en grec vulgaire* (Amsterdam 1910/reprinted Wiesbaden 1968) 52, 11. 87-88. Cf. Michael Attaleiates, *Diataxis*, ed. Sathas, *Mesaionikē Bibliothēkē*; I, 48, where the gift of an icon of St. John Prodrornos is recorded in the name of John the Praipositos; cf. *ibid* 51, where the same donor is recorded as giving a veil and a *podea* for the icon of St. John.

31. e.g. Michael Attaleiates, *Diataxis* 51; cf. P. Gautier, 'Le Typikon du Sébaste

however, it is frequently difficult to distinguish the nature of the hangings because of ambiguities in the vocabulary used to describe them. For example, words such as *epiplon*, *parapetasma*, *katapetasma*, *peplos* may all substitute for *encheirion*, and some of these words may in turn also be used for other forms of hangings.³² The Marciana collection, on the other hand, has the advantage of being remarkably consistent in its vocabulary: the epigrams themselves without exception use the term *peplos* (*/peplon*), while the lemmata retain this denomination in only two instances,³³ and are otherwise unanimous in their use of the word *encheirion*. This consistent dichotomy between the epigram and the lemma may simply reflect the division of authorship and changing fashions in terminology.³⁴ However, if one accepts that the lemmata represent an 'editorial' attempt at a gloss on the text, this duality may be explained by the lemma-writer employing the popular term in everyday use (*encheirion*), while the author of the verse chose the more literary word (*peplos*). Assuming that this was the case — and the evidence of the '524' collection certainly suggests that the two words were to a large extent interchangeable — then this binary arrangement *peplos/encheirion* should form the starting point for any analysis of the form and function of what, for convenience sake, may be called simply the *encheirion*.

The *peplos* has a venerable history as a dedicatory offering to the gods, dating back to classical times, the best known example being the annual ceremonial presentation of a *peplos* to the

chryselephantine statue of Pallas Athene in the Parthenon.³⁵ In Byzantine times its fundamental meaning of a cloak worn by women was retained,³⁶ but it was no longer associated exclusively with an article of female clothing. The description of the emperor's dress in the twelfth-century 'Ekphrasis ton Xylokontarion' (a description of a hunting-party) includes a reference to his *peplos*, which was apparently worn in addition to the *chlamys* and probably on top of it.³⁷ The word also came to be used for a covering for inanimate objects, and it is in this sense that it is used, both for altar cloths and hangings attached to icons, in the '524' collection.³⁸ Moreover, alongside the ancient *peplos* a new lexical form has appeared by the twelfth century: *to peplon*.³⁹ One fact which is quite clear is that the *peplos* was never (as Frolow suggests) a *podea* or decorative cloth hung from the lower edge of the icon; these two hangings were distinct both by definition and by tradition. Other considerations apart, the traditional notion of the *peplos* as an enveloping mantle, which enshrouded the form from the head down militates against Frolow's interpretation of the *peplos* as a *podea*.⁴⁰ But over and above this the language of the epigrams leaves no doubt about the arrangement of the *peplos* as adjunct to the icon: 'I wreath [thy image] in gold' declares John Dukas Bryennios.⁴¹ Another donor states: 'I hang this before Thy revered image';⁴² the

Grégoire Pakourianos', *REB* 42 (1984) 123; Diehl, *Le Trésor et la Bibliothèque de Patmos au Commencement du 13^e siècle*, 492.

32. e.g. Michael Attalicates, *Diataxis* 51, where two cloths are listed, first as *katapetasma* and *epiplon*, then jointly as '*tauta ta duo epipla*' and finally described in some detail as to function, whence it is clear that one is an *encheirion* and the other a *podea*. Frolow, *La Podéa*, was inclined to ignore all ambiguities in the cause of documenting the history of the *podea*, albeit at the expense of other hangings.

33. Appendix nos. 162 (a) (= *Callicles*, Sternbach ed., XI) and 162 (b) (= *Callicles*, Sternbach ed., XXVI).

34. Probably the clearest indication of the *post hoc* nature of some of the lemmata is in Lampros, *Ho Markianos Kodix* 524, 31, no.65, where the lemma locates the icon in question as being in the chapel of the 'former', or possibly 'the late', *epi tou kanikleiou*, Theodore Stypiotes, whereas the verse itself has Theodore identifying himself as the current holder of this office (1.25). Cf. in general the comments of Paul Speck, *Theodoros Studites, Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände*, 66.

35. Cf. C. Belting-Ihm, 'Sub matris tutela', *Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, ph.-hist. Klasse 3 (1976) 14-37, who traces the history of the cloak as a symbol of protection and patronage from Roman times through the Byzantine period.

36. *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler (Wiesbaden 1921, repr.) 1006, *Peplos*: '... *esti de ho peplos gynaikeion endyma*' (this reading, however, is not attested in all mss., cf. 1005 *Peplon*: '*peribolaion, himation gynaikeion*', but cf. n.37 below. The primary meaning of *peplos*, as given in the *Suidae Lexicon* at 1006, is the ceremonial robe woven for and presented to Athena in Ancient Greece, which is referred to in some detail.

37. S. Lampros, 'Ekphrasis ton Xylokontarion' *NE* 5 (1908), 17, l. 22 and l. 24-25, and cf. *NE* 6 (1909) 493f, note from Ph. Koukoules on the date and authorship of the 'Ekphrasis ...'. Cf. D. Demetrakos, *Mega Lexikon holēs tēs Hellēnikēs Glōssēs* (Athens 1958) *sub* 'peplos' 4, (in trans.) 'rare, usually masculine, long garment worn over the *chiton epichitonion*'; a man's himation.'

38. Appendix nos. 93 and 68 for altar cloths.

39. Viz. Appendix nos. 58 and 68 and cf. '*ho kosmos tēs Hagias Sophias, ta pepla tēs trapezas*', E. Kriaras, *Anaklisma tēs Kōnstantinopolēs* (Salonica 1965) 35, l. 109.

40. Frolow, *La Podéa* 464, n. 3.

41. Appendix no. 70, l. 23.

42. Appendix no. 63, l. 10.



Fig. 1: *The dormition of the Blessed Isidore*.
Reproduced by kind permission of the Byzantine Museum, Athens.

Sebaste Lady Anna, wife of John Arvantenos, exhorts the Virgin, to whom she is dedicating an *encheirion*, to deck herself with new finery;⁴³ and Goudelis Tsikandyles tells the Theotokos that he is covering her image with 'gold-encrusted purple'.⁴⁴

In the church of the Blachernae an icon veiled in just this way regularly demonstrated its miraculous power by the apparently unaided rising and falling of the veil.⁴⁵ Zonaras tells of another wonder-working veil which hung over the icon of Christ on the Chalke gate.⁴⁶ This sort of arrangement is reflected in some late Byzantine paintings: such as the frontispiece of the Hamilton Psalter,⁴⁷ a wall-painting in Markov Manastir (Yugoslavia),⁴⁸ and a fifteenth-century panel painting in the Byzantine Museum in Athens⁴⁹ (fig.1).

Thus the ancient custom of decking a cult statue with a *peplos* and the related tradition of gracing an image with curtains had somehow evolved into a combination of the two. The history of the usage of the word *encheirion* to the point where it became a synonym for *peplos* may throw some light on the logic behind this development.

Before the twelfth century the term *encheirion* referred in an ecclesiastical context to an element of the priestly vestments: it was a piece of cloth which hung from the bishop's girdle. This decorative square of silk was a part of the bishop's insignia, just as the *mappa* (from which it was probably descended) had been for the consuls,⁵⁰ and, serving no practical purpose, it had — by

43. Appendix no. 162 (b), ll. 1-3.

44. Appendix no. 234, l. 6; cf. n.8 above.

45. Michael Psellos, 'Logos epi to en Blachernais gegonoti thaumati (ex Cod. Vatic. Graec. 672)', ed. X.A. Sideridis, *Orthodoxia* 28 (1928) 514; cf. R. Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, (Paris 1969) III, 1, 166 and G. Buckler, *Anna Comnena: a Study*, (Oxford 1929) 77f.

46. Zonaras III, 18, l. 25 and see below p. 11.

47. A. Grabar, 'Une Source d'Inspiration de l'iconographie byzantine tardive: les cérémonies du culte de la Vierge', *CA* 25 (1976) 147, who comments on 'le rideau roulé devant l'icône'. Grabar thinks the miniature is a fifteenth-century addition to the Psalter, which has been dated to the thirteenth century.

48. *Idem* and G. Babić, 'L'iconographie constantinopolitaine de l'Acathiste de la Vierge à Cozia (Valachie)', *ZRVI* 14/15 (1973) figs. 13 and 14. This programme is dated to 1370-72.

49. *Catalogue of the Exhibition for the Centenary of the Christian Archaeological Society (X.A.E.)* (Athens 1984) 28 no. 15 (Pl. 15). Dr. M. Acheimastou-Potamianou is preparing a study of this icon.

50. *Thréskeutikē kai Èthikē Egkyklopaideia*, (Athens 1962-1968) V, 334f.

the twelfth century — been replaced by the *epigonation*, a lozenge of elaborately embroidered cloth, worn at knee-level.⁵¹ Fundamentally, both the *mappa* and the *encheirion* were simply handkerchieves, which had taken on a ceremonial significance. The more lowly *encheiridion*, which is met with, for example, in the Life of St. Stephen the Younger in the form of pieces of cloth used in an emergency to tie up a bundle, and which were apparently carried in the normal course of events about the person of both men and women, is surely either a large handkerchief or headscarf. The fact that, in the Life, the *encheiridia* serve to wrap up (albeit in an *ad hoc* fashion) both sacred icons and holy relics, is perhaps indicative of the role the *encheiria* came to play.⁵²

It is well known that the power (*dynamis*) residing in holy relics was believed to be transmitted to other physical objects and elements which came into contact with them. Thus not only did pilgrims carry away flasks of holy oil from the shrines they visited, but scraps of cloth or *brandea*, which had touched the relics, were traditionally believed to be imbued with the miraculous qualities of the relics by virtue of association. It would not be surprising therefore if the veil which enshrouded a miracle-working icon should derive miraculous properties from the charismatic essence of the icon, in other words if the *peplos/encheirion* were to be seen as a sort of *brandeum*.⁵³ Scriptural testimony to the efficacy of the *brandeum* as a mediator of healing *dynamis* is found in the Acts of the Apostles XIX, 11-12⁵⁴:—

And God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul: so that from his body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them.

Dynameis te ou tas tychousas o Theos epoiei dia tōn cheirōn Paulou, ōste kai epi tous asthenountas apopheresthai apo tou chrotos autou soudaria ē simikinthia kai apallessethai ap'autōn tas nosous, ta te pneumata ta ponēra ekporeuesthai.

51. C. Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church*. (Birmingham 1981) 21f.

52. *Vita Stephani Iunioris*, in MPG 100, cols. 1169B and 1177B.

53. This takes the argument, formulated by Grabar, which sees the icons as 'secondary relics' (on which see below p.12 and n.58) one step farther.

54. Reference supplied by Mrs. J. Storer, to whom many thanks for her friendly and constructive 'quibbling' without which this paper would be the poorer.

The apparent dichotomy in the terminology of epigrams and lemmata may then be reconciled, if it is seen to reflect the dual character of the object: *peplos/encheirion*. The ancient notion of the *peplos* as a dedicatory offering brought by the supplicant to the object of worship survived in Byzantine times, combined with the Christian element of the leipsanolatric *brandeum*, an *eulogia* which was received from the object of worship and which put its power at the service of the supplicant.

Evidence for such a belief in the power of these veils is to be found in an extraordinary passage in Zonaras: Alexios I Komnenos, suffering from a serious, and potentially fatal, illness, had himself carried to the Chalke, where the veil was detached from the icon of Christ which hung there and laid on the ailing emperor. Recovery was dramatic and seemingly instantaneous; clearly the power residing in the veil, transmitted through the icon, had effected a miracle.⁵⁵ A few generations later another Alexios Komnenos (son of Andronikos and Eirene) was apparently healed in the same way by the veil of the icon of Christ at the Chalke, as his wife relates in the verse which celebrates her dedication of another veil to this same icon as a thank offering. She offers the *peplos* to Christ:

...
In return for having healed from a terrible illness,
When he touched Thy *peplos*, as once |a woman touched Thy| hem
My husband ...
Alexios, scion of the Komnenos family⁵⁶
...

The parallel drawn between Alexios's cure and that of the woman with the issue of blood who touched the hem of Christ's robe is particularly significant for the *peplos: brandeum* theory. This same example of the Haemorrhissa's cure was cited for comparative purposes by Theodore Studites in the ninth century, but his point of departure was the potential of relics to cure those who touch them.⁵⁷

55. Zonaras III, 18, l. 25 (Bonn ed. 751); cf. Frolow, *La Podéa* 465, n.4, where it is asserted that this veil [*peplon*] is a *podea*.

56. Appendix no. 70, ll. 13-14.

57. Theodore Studites, *Iambi*, MPG 99, col. 1780 and Speck, *Theodoros Studites, Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände*, 110f.

Writing about the Early Christian period, André Grabar has shown how the icons connected with the cult of a saint's relics or with some relic of the Passion had become 'secondary relics' or *brandea* and had absorbed some of the relic's *dynamis* and thus of its potential to offer both spiritual and physical protection, in much the same way as holy oil or strips of cloth brought into contact with relics.⁵⁸ More recently, in respect of the eighth and ninth centuries, John Wortley has stressed the continuing centrality of relics in Byzantine Christianity as mediators of grace par excellence.⁵⁹ Wortley has pointed out that 'devotion to the relics was institutionalized in a way that devotion to the icons was not, or only rarely so.'⁶⁰ Yet he is referring to the once-a-year celebration of the saint's synaxis 'in the presence of and in honour of his/her mortal remains.' There is evidence from the post-Iconoclast period to suggest that far more regular ceremonies were enacted in the presence of and in honour of icons.

Particularly significant for present purposes is the evidence for the cult of the Holy Soros in the Blachernae, where the relic of the Virgin's *maphorion* was preserved. There seems little doubt that in the post-Iconoclast period devotion to this relic was most commonly expressed through its 'representative' icon, the Episkepsis, as indicated both by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in *De Ceremoniis* and by an episode in the *Life of St. Andrew the Fool*.⁶¹ This shift in the focus of attention was surely not intended to deny the prestige of the relic from which the icon derived its authority, but on the contrary emphasized the highly sacred character of the relic, too precious to be approached by the faithful except under the highly regulated conditions of

occasional ceremonial exhibition.⁶² Yet it must nevertheless have had the effect of enhancing the icon's prestige — perhaps at the expense of the relic.

The notion that images as well as relics might be mediators of miracles, responding to veneration with an *eulogia* or to blasphemy with retribution, is surely one of the most crucial differences between Eastern and Western Christianity. The difference was thrown into sharp relief during the Iconoclast Controversy, the two views being polarized in the *Libri Carolini* on one side and the *Letter to Theophilos* on the other.⁶³

In his seminal article on icons in the period before Iconoclasm, Ernst Kitzinger has taken Grabar's icon: *brandeum* argument one step farther and shown how icons, quite independent of their association with specific shrines, took on an analogous status to relics.⁶⁴ Kitzinger went on to point out that not infrequently icons (irrespective of their title to the status of *brandeum*) were believed to produce 'miraculous effects through some intermediary substance, in a manner traditional in the cult of relics.'⁶⁵ In other words, icons having graduated from their 'secondary' role and achieved an equal footing with relics, imparted their *dynamis* to substances and objects brought into contact with them, creating in their turn a whole new range of *brandea*.

To return to the example of the Episkepsis icon in the Blachernae: the veil which hung before this image was believed to rise and fall independent of any artifice and its movements were scrutinised for the purposes of augury⁶⁶ and interpreted to

62. This is in sharp contrast to Western devotion focussed on shrines. See, for example, B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind* (London 1982) *passim*, and two contributions to *Popular Belief and Practice (Studies in Church History 8, Cambridge 1972)*: C. Morris, 'A Critique of Popular Religion: Guibert of Nogent on the Relics of the Saints', 55-60; and D. Bethell, 'The Making of a twelfth-century Relic Collection', 61-72, esp. p.61.

63. L. Duchesne, 'L'iconographie byzantine dans un document grec (836) du IX^e siècle', *Roma e l'Oriente* 3 V (1912) 222-239, 273-285 and 349-366. Cf. Grabar, *Martyrium*, II, 356, n.2, who quotes this passage from the *Libri Carolini*: — 'illi (les Grecs) vero pene omnem suae credulitatis spem in imaginibus collocent, restat ut nos sanctos in eorum corporibus vel potius reliquiis corporum, seu etiam vestimentis veneremur, iuxta antiquorum patrum traditionem'.

64. E. Kitzinger, 'The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm', *DOP* 8 (1954) 119.

65. *idem*, *loc.cit.*

66. Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, trans. E.R.A. Sewter (London 1969) XIII.1; text: Anne Comnène, *Aléxiade*, ed. B. Leib, 3 vols. (Paris 1937, 1943, 1945); index, P.

58. A. Grabar, *Martyrium: Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, (Paris 1946, reprinted London 1972: hereafter cited as Grabar, *Martyrium*) II, 346.

59. J. Wortley, 'Iconoclasm and Leipsanoclasm: Leo III, Constantine V and the Relics', *BF* 8 (1982) 253-279.

60. *ibid.* 255.

61. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae* (Bonn ed.) 553, II. 3-5; *The Life of Andreas Salos*, BHG³, 115-117, 721A; cf. I. Rydén, 'The Vision of the Virgin at Blachernae and the Feast of Pokrov', *AB* 94 (1976) 70, n.2. The identification of the icon in the Holy Soros with the 'Episkepsis' is still controversial. Grabar, *Martyrium* II, 348, following J. Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (Paris 1921) 49-51, assumes that they are one and the same, but this assumption had been challenged as early as 1930 by V. Grumel, 'Sur l'Episkepsis des Blachernes', *EO* 29 (1930) 334-336.

give judgements.⁶⁷ Traditionally these were functions of the holy man and of his relics.⁶⁸

The formulation by iconodule theologians of the theory of mediation, whereby a fundamental distinction was made between the mediator (the icon) and the prototype (the holy person or object represented), constituted an important element in the post-Iconoclast 'Synodikon of Orthodoxy'.⁶⁹ But no amount of insistence on the importance of this distinction could guarantee its observance and Christian animism was just as strong a force in post-Iconoclast orthodoxy as it had been in the Early Christian period. The Byzantine love of symbolism, which endowed everything with its special allegorical significance promoted a theology of symbolism, whereby the whole church with its 'fixtures and fittings' could be explained in terms of Christ's Life and Passion.⁷⁰ This positively encouraged the faithful to identify liturgical objects with their anagogical counterparts. Thus it was not unnatural that many should confuse the honour due to the prototype with the reverence paid to the icon. And indeed it was not merely at a popular level that the notion prevailed of the image as holy *per se*. It was on these grounds that Leo, Bishop of Chalcedon, accused Alexios I of sacrilege tantamount to heresy when he confiscated church property and melted down religious images for their precious metal content. Alexios indeed conceded the point after his first lapse from grace and vowed to make reparations and never to resort to such measures again.⁷¹

Gautier (Paris 1976): see xiii, 1.2; and notes, pp. 254-5; also V. Grumel, *EO* 162 (1931) 129ff.

67. Psellos, *Logos epi tō en Blachernais gegonoti thaumati*, 515ff; cf. Buckler, *Anna Comnena: a Study*, 78 and note.

68. P. Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', *JRS* 61 (1971) 88 (on the holy man as 'arbitrator and mediator') and 91f and 93 (on the holy man as 'oracle'); reprinted in *idem*, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (London 1982) 103-152 (see 117, 122 and 134).

69. *Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie*, ed. and trans. J. Gouillard, *TM* 2 (1967) 181f; cf. L. Barnard 'The Theology of Images', in *Iconoclasm* (Papers given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham 1977) 10f. and 13 (n.46); and *ibid.* 'Texts in Translation', 184 (21).

70. Patriarch Germanos, *Historia Ecclesiastica et Mystica Contemplatio*, in *MPG* 98, cols 383-454. Symeon of Thessalonica, *Expositio de Divino Templo*, *MPG* 155, cols 697-749.

71. P. Gautier, 'Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite contre Alexis Ier Comnène', *REB* 28 (1970) 8; cf. J.C. Anderson, 'The Date and Purpose of the Barberini Psalter', *CA* 31 (1982) 35-67.

However, when straitened circumstances obliged him to relapse into his former sin in order to raise funds, he decided that the best form of defence was attack and issued counter-accusations of heresy against those who worshipped icons *latreutikōs* and not *schetikōs*.⁷² The highly intellectual concept of worshipping an image 'relatively' or 'paradigmatically', i.e. using the image as a sort of mnemonic, or a pass-word to access the prototype, was better suited to the rarefied atmosphere of theological debate than to everyday religious practice — as Alexios himself demonstrated by his faith in the tangible properties residing in the veil of the Chalke icon.

This is clearly an instance where Byzantine religious practice was at odds with Byzantine religious theory. Since it is the theory for the most part which is committed to written records, it would be unreasonable to expect to find the role of the *peplos/encheirion* in popular devotion explicitly acknowledged in historical sources. Similarly the gradual transition of the icons from the status of secondary relics to being on an equal footing with the bones of the martyrs is not documented. A tacit acknowledgement of their status as 'primary relics' would be the creation of *brandea* from the veils which were hung about them.

The most fundamental role credited to relics and icons alike involved affording spiritual and physical protection to the suppliant and this protection was most commonly transmitted, as Kitzinger, has pointed out, through some intermediary. The most dramatic illustration of this power was in healing miracles and therefore it is not surprising to find such a regular association between *encheiria* and offerings made in respect of healing. But this connexion should not be overemphasized; the *encheiria* are not exclusively associated with cures. The benevolent *dynamis* of the relic or icon is polyvalent and so, by extension, is the sympathetic power of the *brandeum*. The dedication of an *encheirion* to an icon was sometimes a simple gesture of faith and piety in thanks for, or in expectation of, unspecified blessings. Once dedicated and attached to the icon, however, it was no longer the property of the donor and its multifarious *dynamis* was at the service of the faithful in whatever connexion they sought it. The ex-voto medallions which accumulated on the *podea* were

72. Buckler, *Anna Comnena: a Study*, 315-318; and Anderson, *op. cit.* 58f.

the visible expression of such petitions to the icon.⁷³ No such indication of the encheirion's role survives, yet the evidence of the epigrams leave little doubt what that role was.

73. Frolow, *La Podéa*, 461.

Appendix

- 58 On an encheirion of the Most Holy Mother
of God, donated by the Sebastos and Grand
Heteriarch, the Lord George Palaiologos

And I bring this *peplos*, embroidered with gold,
To Thee, oh Maid; purple in colour because Thou art a Queen,
'It is made| out of thread stained with the blood of my heart,
Newly woven, arcanelly dyed;

- 5 Mayst Thou then protect me,
George Komnenos Doukas, Sebastos and Grand Heteriarch.

Notes:

- 1.3 cf. no. 70, l. 12 and note.
1.6 'George, Komnenos Doukas . . .' Polemis amends to read 'George, Komnenodoukas . . .', apparently to coincide with a seal published by Laurent, see D.I. Polemis, *The Doukai* (London 1968) 155, no.5.

George Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos is the donor of an encheirion which is the subject of another epigram in this collection (228); these two epigrams are remarkably similar in style and content and may refer to one donation. According to the lemma of no. 228, the offering was presented to the Theotokos Hodegetria; a third epigram connects this patron with the renovation of a monastery of the Holy Mother of God, which has been identified by Janin as the Church of the Hodegetria (Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, 1,3,200 n.7)

- 59 On an encheirion of our Lord and God Jesus Christ
made from fine material and given by the Caesar,
Lord John Dalassenos

Thou, 'who| didst hide in the veil of the flesh
and in thick darkness
The sun of Thy divine essence,
And who didst illumine the dark place of our couch,
Just as |the Church| will mystically sing Thy praise, oh Bridegroom,
5 That Church, the which let me embrace in bridal fashion,
Representing |as it does| Thy fleshly presence,
Thee, oh Christ, whom with |this| gift I acknowledge Thee, my Christ,
I, John, of the rank of Caesar,
Scion of the Dalassenos line,
10 Honouring Thee, as a bridegroom with a bridal *peplos*,
Who didst slumber on the couch of the rock-cut tomb
And by Thy day-break resurrection from the grave
Loosed the dark veil of the Old Law,
Thee, who wast clad in the purple of outrageous insult before
the Passion
15 And showed Thy holy hands made purple with blood,
Thee, do I faithfully honour with imperial purple;
From on high may'st Thou watch over and protect
|Me| under Thy holy wing
From the arrows of the day and terror of the night,

- 20 Gathering me under Thy wings, may'st Thou snatch 'me up;
And, on the last day, Oh Word,
When Thou hast set 'me free from the deep blackness of my sins,
Grant that I may see the everlasting light in Paradise.

Notes

- 1.1 (cf. 1.13) veil = *skia* (lit. shadow)
ibid. *gnophos* : 'thick darkness' (as in Auth. Version, Exodus XX, 21); but cf.
1.23 *gnophos*, trans. 'deep blackness'.
1.13 Old Law = *graptos nomos* (lit. written law)
1.14 Mark XV, 17 (cf. John XIX, 2 and Matt. XXVII, 28-29); cf. 93, ll. 1-2, ll. 17-20
Ps. 90 (91), 4 (l. 18 Auth. vers. translates *metaphrenoīs* as 'feathers'); cf. 68, l. 10 and 70, l. 28.

The Caesar John Dalassenos was married to Maria Komnena, daughter of John II Komnenos (see L. Stiernon, 'Jean Dalassène-Roger, César', *REB* 22 (1964) 185-187; and cf. P. Gautier, 'Les Lettres de Grégoire, Higoumène d'Oxia', *REB* 31 (1972) 205f and 210f).

- 59 Ἐπὶ ἐγχειρίῳ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ ἐξ ὀξέος ὑπράσματος γεγονότος παρὰ τοῦ
καίσαρος κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαλασσηνοῦ

Τὸν ἐν σκιᾷ κρύψαντα σαρκὸς καὶ γνώφῳ
τόν ἡλίον σου τῆς θεϊκῆς οὐσίας|
καὶ σύσκιον φανέντα τῆς ἡμῶν κλίνης,
ὥς ἁσματίζει μυστικῶς σοι νυμφίε
ἦν ἡγκαλίσω νυμφικῶς ἐκκλησίαν,
τὴν σὴν τυπούσα σαρκικὴν παρουσίαν·
δώρω σε Χριστ' ἐδεξιόμην Χριστ' ἐμοῦ
|Ἰωάννης καῖσαρ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας,
ὄρπηξ Δαλασσηνῶν δὲ τῆς ῥίζουχίας
ὥς νυμφίον σέβων σε νυμφικῶ πέπλῳ
κλίνη μὲν ὑπνώσαντα λαξευτοῦ τάφου,
τῇ δ' ὀρθρινῇ σου τῆς ταφῆς ἀναστᾷσει
νυκτὸς σκίαν λύσαντα τοῦ γραπτοῦ νόμου·|
τόν ὕβρεως δὲ πορφύραν πρὸ τοῦ πάθους
ἐπενδυθέντα τοὺς δὲ σεπτοὺς δακτύλους
ἐξ αἱμάτων δείξαντα πορφυρουμένους.
|Βασιλικὴ τιμὴ σε πιστῶς πορφύρα,|
σὺ δ' ἄλλὰ τοῖς σοῖς ἐνθέοις|μεταφρένοις
ἐπισκιάσαις καὶ σκεπάσαις ὑψόθεν
ἐξ ἡμέρας βέλους δὲ καὶ νυκτὸς φόβου,
πτέρυξι ταῖς σοῖς συλλαβῶν ἀφαρπάσαις,
|ἐν ἡμέρᾳ δὲ τῇ τελευταίᾳ, Λόγε,
ἁμαρτιῶν μου τὸν βαθὺν λύσας γνώφον,
ἀνέσπερον φῶς ἐν τρυφῇ βλέπειν δίδου.!

- 62 On an encheirion donated by the Metropolitan
of Philippi, the Lord Theodore, on being
healed of an intractable illness

- Thou, oh Peter, who settest us| free from ills by the grace
of the Spirit,
'Even| from out of the winding sheets and from a former
dwelling place in the shades,
May'st Thou cure the savage illness which has beset
Theodore, now pastor of Philippi.
5 Paul will cooperate with Thee in this
Because he spent time in Philippi of old
Wishing to save the people there for evermore.
For I delineate the outlines of Ye both on a *peplos*,
Drawn with gold and silver colours.
10 At the end, do Ye open up the gates of Paradise!

Notes:

- ll. 1-2 Acts IX, 36-41
1.8 outlines = *skias*, lit. 'shades' (harking back to 1.1).
1.10 the gates of Paradise: lit. 'the gates of Eden'.

A bishop Theodore coming from Philippi (or, according to one source, Philippopolis) is recorded as being present at a church council convened in 1157 to discuss the issue of Christ as officiant and sacrifice at the Eucharist (P. Lemerle, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine* (Paris 1945) I, 272). The only other Theodore, Bishop of Philippi (fl. c. 1260) seems too late for this collection (*ibid.*, loc. cit. 273).

- 63 On an encheirion of the Lord our God
Jesus Christ, donated by the Lord John
Doukas, the son of the Caesar, Lord Nikephoros Bryennios

- Having caught a fish, as he was bid, Peter
Brings forth a gold coin
And renders a double tribute to Caesar,
Giving on his own behalf and Thine, Almighty King.
5 And I, snatched from the mouth of Hell,
Made well from the deep waters of illness,
And offering this return to Thee as [a sort of] tribute,
I, son of the noble Caesar Nikephoros,
And of Anna, purple-born [princess], John,
10 Wreathe Thy formerly silver image in gold.
Be Thou a well-disposed judge to me at the end!

Notes:

- ll. 1-4 Matt. XVII, 24-27
1.9 noble = *eutyches* (lit. 'fortunate').
On John Doukas Bryennios, son of Anna Komnena (Doukaina) and Nikephoros Bryennios see Polemis, *The Doukai*, 113, n. 78.

- 68 On an altar-cloth

If this table should represent both the manger
In which God, seen [in the form of] a babe, lay,
And a stone-cut tomb in the garden,
In which Christ concealed Himself [while] living in death,

- 5 Then I bring this *peplos* to it for a covering,
 [I], purple-born Manuel, great King;
 As a crib it was fitting to decorate [it] with swathing bands;
 As tomb with an enswathing shroud.
 But Thou, who wast born and sacrificed and who hast officiated
 at the sacrifice,
- 10 Protecting him under Thy wing, grant
 That he may control the whole earth by the subtle strand of
 [his] dominion
 And, when he departs from hence in advanced old age,
 Receive him as a guest at Thy table
 With the Emperor Alexios, offshoot of the purple.

Notes:

- ll. 1-4 Lampe, *A Pastristic Greek Lexicon*, *trapeza*, 4c.
 ll. 5-6 Donor presented in customary 'ego-narrator' style; cf. ll.10 sqq. where appeals are made to Christ *on behalf* of the donor, who is relegated to the third person.
 l. 9 paraphrase of Cherubicon Hymn: 'Sy gar ei ho prosperon kai prosperomenos . . .' (F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford 1896) I, 378, 5-8); Manuel convoked a council in Constantinople in 1156-57 to discuss the eucharistic aspects of current Christological controversies, where this liturgical formula was debated (see Ch. J. von Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles* (Paris 1912) V/2 911-913).
 l.10 Psalm 90 (91) 4; cf. 59, l.18 (and note), 70, l.28 and 234, l.1.
 Manuel I (1143-1180) had a son, Alexios (l.14), born in 1169, who reigned briefly (1180-1183) under the regency of his mother, the Empress Mary of Antioch. He was apparently already co-emperor with his father when this epigram was written, which should therefore be dated between March 1171 and Manuel's death in September 1180 (F. Chalandon, *Jean II Comnène (1118-1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143-1180)* (Paris 1912) 212 and 606).

- 70 On a *peplos* hung in the church of the Chalke

- No gift is worthy of Thy dominion
 Even if one were to offer all of himself to Thee,
 Creator, parent, partner, the Logos of all,
 For, as the body is a creation of Thy right hand,
 5 So is spiritual strength Thy inspiration.
 The gold is Thine, the pearls and stones Thine
 Yet exhibiting [Thy] measureless grace,
 Even though Thou receivest Thine own, Thou judgest it [as] the donors'
 And weighest the boon by the willingness [with which it is offered],
- 10 And so it is my desire and passion of my soul
 To weave an enormous *peplos* for Thee, o Saviour,
 Stained with the blood of [my] heart,
 In return for [Thy] having healed from a terrible illness —
 When [a] touched Thy *peplos*, as once [a woman touched] the hem
 [of Thy garment] —
- 15 My husband, my life, my glory,
 Alexios, a scion of the Komnenos family,
 [Son] of Andronikos — child of an emperor —
 The Sebastokrator and scion of the purple [= Andronikos],
 [Alexios], appointed the rank of kratoprator.

- 20 But since nature knew not how to weave this *peplos*
 Yet still [by dint of] plying the thread of faith
 (Having once set up my heart's fervour as the warp)
 I hang this before Thy revered image,
 This *peplos*, gold-worked on a purple-ground,
 25 [I], Thy faithful servant, Maria, born of the Doukas family.
 Receive Thou Thy gift as [if it were] mine
 And protect my husband for many years to come
 Under Thy mystical wings;
 Scattering the night of multifarious ills,
 30 Be Thou his lantern in all his wanderings,
 Keep him in the embrace of
 His father's brother, the infinitely excellent
 Ruler of New Rome, Manuel,
 And overwhelm [him = Alexios] with the flow of favours from
 him [= his uncle].

Notes:

- l.1 and ll. 6-9 The inadequacy of the offering and the emphasis on the donor's gift being dependent on the generosity of the one who receives it in purely material terms, yet accountable to the goodwill or faith and fervour of the donor in spiritual terms is a standard topos: cf. 'Euche epi tōn prosperontōn aparchas opōras', *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum*, ed. J. Goar (Venice 1730, repr. Graz 1960) 522; and Ptochoprodromos, *Poëmes Prodromiques en Grec vulgaire*, ed. D.-C., Hesselring and H. Pernot (Wiesbaden 1910) I, 30, ll. 1-9.
 l.12 cf. 58, l.3; this is probably a liturgical reference, cf. 'The King and God goes forth wearing the purple dyed from thy blood, O All-Undeiled' (addressed to the Virgin) in Canticle One, Second Canon for the Feast of the Entry of the Most Holy Theotokos into the Temple (*Festal Menaion*, trans. Mother Mary and K. Ware (London 1977) 176). Superimposed on this reference there may be a pun based on the vocabulary of dyeing processes: see *Le Livre du Préfet*, ed. J. Nicole, VIII, 4: 'Whoever dyes raw silk with purple juice [*haima*] . . .'
 l.14 Matt. IX, 20; Luke VIII, 43 (cf. Matt. XIV, 36) and cf. Andrew of Crete, Great Canon for Holy Friday, *The Lenten Triodion*, ed. and trans. Mother Mary and K. Ware (London 1978) 311.
 l.15 my life = *tēn pnoēn mou* (lit. 'my breath')
 l.21 the thread of faith = *pisteōs krokēn* (lit. 'the weft of faith')
 ll.27-29 Ps. 90 (91) 4-5; cf. 59, l.18 (and note).

Alexios Komnenos, Kratostrator, son of the Sebastokrator Andronikos Komnenos and Eirene was *éminence grise* during the regency of the Dowager Empress Mary of Antioch (1180-1183) (*Choniates*, ed. De Gruyter, 248, ll.79sqq.) Three other epigrams, appended below as A,B and C addressed to the Theotokos by the Sebastokratorissa Eirene, mother of Alexios, relate to *encheiria/peploi* donated on his behalf. Two of her donations clearly refer to the same incident and it may be that all four of these donations are connected.

Maria Doukaina, about whom apparently nothing is known, has an entry in Polemis, *The Doukai*, 191, no. 223.

- A* More [verses] on a holy encheirion, donated by the same Sebastokratorissa in [the church of] the Most Holy Mother of God of the Source

(Resumé)

Hear now, Oh David's daughter¹, with what evils the fallen angel has many times oppressed me, [Thou], my constant companion and defender, who knowest how he opened his mouth once again, trying to swallow me all up in his bowels (ll.1-5); and Thou didst perceive and prevent these things, o Maid, as, for example, when my child² had an evil encounter with a dreadful evil spirit. Alas, he suffered sorely, injured in the eye (ll.6-10); on account of which the Emperor's heart was wrung with passionate sorrow and he shed tears. Having been fortunate in Thee as a source of favours (ll.11-15), O spring, flowing with Grace of the Living Word; I bend the knee, beseeching that Thou may'st extend the authority of the emperor still further, and Thou may'st reward [him] with long life for the succour of my offspring (ll.16-20). Eirene asks these things and brings Thee this *peplos* as a gift having been fortunate in a noble husband, the Despot [and] Sebastokrator, Andronikos (ll.21-24).

- * E. Miller, 'Poésies inédites de Théodore Prodrome', *Ann. de l'Assoc. pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France* 17 (1883) 36f.

Monastery of the Pegé: Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de Constantinople*, I, 3 (223-228)

- 1 epithet of the Virgin, stemming from Ps. 40.
2 lit. 'the grape cluster of my good fortune'.

- B* More [verses] on a holy encheirion of the Most Holy Mother of God in the Kyrou [quarter] donated by the Sebastokratorissa

(Resumé)

If there is a river and a tidal flow, then it is here, as is God's golden city; for Thy womb is the city of God made man; and then again the river is the living and enduring Spirit, and the tidal flow, a stream of grace (ll.1-5); and so I found Thee the golden city of God, a place of salvation from death; if Thy right hand had not protected my child¹, grievously injured in the eye by a spear (ll.6-10) and on the threshold of death, death would have claimed him. And therefore I have received many gifts from Thee, and now I am asking once again for what I lack (ll. 11-14). Confirm the Emperor in the extent of his sovereign power, and give him sway over the barbarians and, towards my children,² increase still more the warmth of the ruler. This entreaty Eirene addresses to Thee, wife of the Sebastokrator Andronikos.

- * E. Miller, 'Poésies inédites de Théodore Prodrome', 36.

Monastery of the Mother of God of the Kyrou: Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, I, 3, 193ff.

- 1 lit. 'my branch from a purple-flowering tree'
2 lit. 'my grape clusters'

- C* Also these verses on a holy encheirion of the most Holy Mother of God, the Hodegetria, which was likewise donated by the Sebastokratorissa

(Resumé)

Infinite good fortune has turned to infinite bad fortune; Thou didst unite me with a branch of the imperial family [tree], Andronikos, the Sebastokrator, the

branch; but yet there is not so much as a straw to clutch at in this sea of afflictions (ll. 1-5);¹ Thou didst buoy me up on a stream of glory, but I am in the grip of a tide of sighs; Thou didst bless me with children, but misfortune has deprived me of them while I still live; Thou didst heap many good things on me (ll. 6-10.) Yet now I am bowed down by my adverse circumstances. Formerly I had renown, but now obscurity; light showers of dew [have turned to] inundations of pain; I had a riverful of spiritual solace, yet I found only the sludge of deep embitterment (ll. 11-15); [once] I drank the pure honey of contentment — now I am nearly at my wits' end and bitterness 'reaps' my heart; I am consumed by burning heat² (ll. 16-20); if Thou my habitual protector dost not stand by me and spare Alexios, the last of my line, who is burning with a raging fever, having lost all sensation (ll. 21-25) and being on the point of death; whereupon I was inflamed with the fire of passion and decorated this *peplos* for Thee. I, the Sebastokratorissa Eirene, Thy servant, bring a poor gift on account of a very great entreaty (ll. 26-30). May'st Thou give in return the deliverance from this crisis (l. 31)

- * E. Miller (ed.), *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens grecs* (Paris 1881) II, 692.

- 1 The translation departs from the letter of the text in an attempt to render the spirit of a slight (and rather laboured) play on words in ll. 4-5 of the original.
2 cf. 162a, ll. 9-11 for another case of 'sympathetic symptoms'.

75a On an encheirion of the All Holy Mother of God*

I thou who art¹ the uncircumscribed Word of God
And wast¹ circumscribed by the solidity of fleshly matter,
I depict Thee on¹ this *peplos* in accordance with the laws of faith,
I, Theodora Doukaina, handmaid of Thy Kingdom.
But do Thou grant me long life
Together with Theodore, my husband,
Delivery from ills, an abundance of success
And¹ a shared dwelling place in Paradise at the end.

- * The text makes it clear that the dedication is, in fact, to Christ and not to the Theotokos as the lemma states.

Notes:

- 1.2 cf. Theodore Studites, *Antirrheticus II*, MPG 99, col. 384 C/D and 385B (trans. C.P. Roth, *St. Theodore the Studite: On the Holy Icons* (St. Vladimir's Seminary Press 1981) 71-72.)

Theodora Doukaina: see Polemis, *The Doukai*, 77 (31).

75a Εἰς ἐγχείριον τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου

Ἰὼν ἀπερίγραπτόν σε τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον
περιγραφέντα σαρκικῆς ὕλης πάχει
ἐπὶ πέπλου γράφω σε πίστεως νόμοις
Θεοδώρα Δουκαῖνα σου κράτους λάτρις.
Σὺ δ' ἄλλὰ μακροὺς ἡλίους μοι τοῦ βίου
σὺν Θεοδώρῳ τῷ συνευνέτῃ νέμοις

λύτρον νόσων, εὐροίαν εὐπραγημάτων,
τέλος δὲ κοινὴν τὴν Ἑδὲμ κατοικίαν.]

86 On an encheirion of the [icon of the | triple lamp

Having been favoured with many of Thy gifts, Virgin,
[As] one distinguished from birth

And [who] donned the humble monastic habit,
I bring an enduring return, indication of my fervour,

5 Euphemia, child of the [house of] Klironomos,
And I create Thy revered image of the triple lamp
And attach a *peplos* to it.

But do Thou, O golden lamp, illuminate me

And having clad me in the apparel of the mystical marriage,

10 Lead me in with the wise virgins.

Notes:

lemma cf. 1.6 where mention is made of the icon of the triple lamp; but cf. Frolov, *La Podesa*, 498, n.1, where this lemma is translated as 'encheirion attaché sur une veilleuse'.

11.2-3 προῆγμένῃ (trans. 'distinguished') may have the sense of 'offered up' here (Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, proagō 2a) and may indicate that Euphemia was an oblate from birth (cf. the prayer of the mother of St. Stephen the Younger to the Blachernitissa and her vow to offer the boy as an oblate: *Vita S. Stephani Iunioris*, MPG 100, 1076C.)

93 On an altar-cloth with a representation of the Holy Anastasis of Christ

A *chlamys* in shades of red and purple

Didst Thou once don, o Logos, [and wast] willingly made sport of,

Now I, a Kamateros on my father's side,

The Sebastos Andronikos Doukas, [Thy] grateful servant

5 And Grand Drungarios by rank,
Revering this table as if it were Thy tomb,
Add a scarlet-[and]-gold *peplos* as a covering;
And I delineate Thy image in purple
Zealously adding gold and pearl decoration.

10 Do Thou cleanse my crimson sin

And make my soul completely snow white with hyssop;

And when Thou hast whitened it by the rays of Thy grace

And clothed [it] in the marriage garment of salvation,

Show me fit for Thy table at the end.

Notes:

11. 1-2 cf. 59, 1.14 and note

1.6 cf. 68, 11. 1-4 and note

1.7 *synkalyptein*: trans. 'add . . . as a covering' to bring out the force of the prefix 'syn-' which is probably intended to emphasize the complementary relationship of the *peplos* to the *chlamys* of line 1 (cf. the contemporary *Ekphrasis tōn Xylokontariōn*, ed. Lampros, 17, where the emperor is described as wearing a *peplos* over his *chlamys*).
Ps. 50, 7.

1.11

1.12 'the rays of Thy grace': the only words in the verse itself (as opposed to the lemma) which can be interpreted as a reference to the Anastasis.

The Sebastos Andronikos Doukas Kamateros appears, on the evidence of the '524' collection, to have been a prolific donor (cf. epigrams nos 81, 88, 91, 94 and 97 which all relate to his commissions). *Floruit* in the reign of Manuel I (see Polemis, *The Doukai*, 126 (98).

162a*

On the *peplos* hung on the [icon of the] All Holy
Mother of God, the Hodegetria, by the Sebastos
John Arvantenos

I bring my very self to you as a gift, O chaste one,
Not small gifts, gold and purple.

For, in the turmoil and distresses that chance to beset us,

I found Thee a fair-flowing stream of calm;

5 I found Thee an invincible cure for ills

And I perceived a deliverance from my cares.

Thou gavest [me] the love of glory, [and] fame a-plenty;

When it was time to marry, Thou didst unite me with a noble line,

A golden plane tree, with imperial connexions,

10 Thou hast watched over my whole life:

If some [manifestation of] envy gets its teeth in [to me], do Thou smash its jaw
in pieces!

If someone causes [me] pain, do Thou break his teeth!

Do Thou open the Emperor's heart to me,

Grant [me] a glorious lot, that of a prosperous life,

15 Grant [children too] [and] reward [me] with fullness of life!

Grant the 'inheritance of the meek', the place of salvation,

Grant a dwelling in Paradise to all my kin

When they have passed through this earthly sojourn.

Arvantenos addresses Thee thus, Holy Virgin,

20 Thy faithful servant, my Lady, John.

* Lampros 162a'

Notes:

1. 11 cf. Ps. 3, 7.

1. 16 'inheritance of the meek': paraphrase for the more usual 'land of the meek' i.e. Paradise, cf. (Matt. V.5).

According to the Pantokrator Typikon, drawn up by the Emperor John II Komnenos (c. 1136), the Sebastos John Arvantenos was a cousin of the Emperor through marriage. John Arvantenos was buried in the Pantokrator Monastery in the Chapel of the Archangel Michael, where the tombs of John II and his family were located and where regular services of commemoration for the dead were ordained by the typikon to be held in the presence of an icon of the Hodegetria (Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I, 3 175-176).

162b*

On the purple and gold [worked] *peplos* hung in
the Hodegetria [Church] by the Sebaste Lady Anna,
wife of the Sebastos John Arvantenos

Do Thou become a fresh adornment unto Thyself, O Virgin,
Whom I delineate with gold and purple;

Do Thou deck Thyself with glorious radiance for my sake

In purple tinged with the pallor of gold;

- 5 For an image of the image is a delightful gift
And to me, who bring this *peplos* rich in gold,
Which sparkles with pearls and is covered in jewels,
Do Thou grant a most sympathetic hearing.
Behold [how] the fierce flames of fever consume
- 10 My husband — and me with him —
John Arvantenos, ailing now;
O unconsumed bush, do Thou quench the flame;
Thou didst cause a child to be brought to my womb,
To me, the Sebaste Anna, a scion of the Komnenos line,
- 15 Grant that I may see the birth [successfully] accomplished
When I have passed through the time of pregnancy,
The nine months of carrying;
In place of the embryo, grant me a lovely child,
Thou who takest in hand my salvation,
- 20 Do Thou steel the arms and chest and hands
Of my husband, and strengthen [him] in battle!
And having rescued him from bloody struggles,
Defend the Emperor's faithful servant
And dash temptations and life's turmoil in pieces!

* Lampros 162 tθ'

Notes:

- ll. 15-18 The Virgin as a 'patron saint' of childbirth is presumably related to the theological concept of Mary as the New Eve: cf. *Festal Menaion*, 118, on Theotokos 'who is to deliver Eve from her pains in travail . . . '.

The Sebaste Anna, 'scion of the Komnenoi', was apparently a cousin to the Emperor John II (see 162a, notes).

165* On an encheirion of the Hodegetria

- All Thy glory [is] within, O Virgin,
He is the fruit of Thy most pure womb,
Thou dost not need external glory as well;
And even if one were to gather up everything and offer it to Thee,
- 5 It would still appear an act of meanness.
What indeed can a well-disposed heart do,
Brimming over with faith, full of Thy favours
[But] clearly lacking in those things which would be worthy [of Thee],
Even if it brings what it can for Thy sake?
- 10 So then, I, too Eudokia, child of the Komnenoi,
Wife of Theodore Stytiotes,
The faithful admirer of the Emperor, [and] the [*epi tou*] *kanikleiou*,
Bring Thee this gold-worked *peplos*
That Thou may'st consider me worthy of many favours
- 15 And may'st save my most sweet son,
Thou who didst snatch him from out of the very jaws of Hell.
Mayst Thou, [who art] the Virgin [mother] of a well-born son, receive [this] gift.

* Hörandner, Theodoros Prodromos: *Historische Gedichte*, LXXIII

Notes:

- lemma prefaced by the indication: 'by the same author', i.e. Theodore Prodromos.
- I. 1 this is a paraphrase (of a variant reading) of Ps. 44, 14; this psalm provides many of the recurring refrains in the Offices of the Feast of the Virgin (*Festal Menaion*, passim).
- ll. 15-16 cf. epigrams nos. 261 and 262, which refer to the miraculous escape from death of the little Manuel Stytiotes, when he fell from a great height. This epigram presumably refers to the same incident, but l. 15 suggests he is not altogether recovered, despite having escaped fatal injury.

Eudokia Komnena, wife of Theodore Stytiotes, the *epi tou kanikleiou*, may conceivably be the same Eudokia Komnena who is mentioned in epigram 234 (see below) as the wife of Goudeles Tzikandyles, if the latter was her second husband.

228 Verses written on an encheirion of our Lady,
the Most Holy Mother of God, the Hodegetria

- By comparison with the oceans of Thy favours, O Maiden,
[This] gift is a mere drop, but from a faithful heart.
Therefore, when Thou receivest [this] gold and purple *peplos*,
Measure not what is offered, but the fervour [with which it is offered].
- 5 Because Thou art a queen, I bring the purple,
And because Thou art an all pure Virgin, the gold.
George Palaiologos 'addresses' these things to thee,
A Doukas and Komnenos and Sebastos in rank.

Notes:

See 58 above, which may refer to one and the same commission.

234 On an encheirion of the Most Holy Mother of God

- Recognizing Thee as a golden dove by Thy feathers, O Maiden,
Many a time did I find shelter in Thee —
Snatched from the midst of death by Thy wings;
For Thou art the one who delivers [us] from intractable ills,
- 5 And therefore, in my turn, I bring a small return,
And I cover Thy image with gold-encrusted purple,
I, the Sebastos in Thee, Goudeles Tzikandyles.
But Thou, the starting point of all fresh favours,
Set down my gift, Thou who art well-disposed to accept me.
- 10 In this present world of affliction, do Thou save me from harm
And calm the varied storms of ill fortune.
And at the end grant me Paradise as my dwelling place,
Thou who savest me with Eudokia, my wife,
Who sprang from Theodora, that flower of the Purple.

Notes:

- I. 2 lit. 'I often found Thee a sheltering dove'.
I. 10 if 'ναῦν' not 'νοῦν' (= νῦν): 'Do Thou save from harm a vessel in the land of affliction . . .' (see transcription appended).

The Sebastos Goudeles (or Goudelios) Tzikandeles (l. 7 Tzikandyles), (married to Eudokia Komnena) appears in another epigram in the collection (103) which relates to his funerary monument. Choniates mentions a man by this name (Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. De Gruyter, 125, l. 26). See also S. Lampros, 'Ho byzantiniakos oikos Goudele', *NE* 13 (1916) 213-215; Polemis, *The Doukai*, 186 and E. Trapp, 'Die Etymologie des Namens Tzikandeles', *JÖB* 22 (1973) 233.

234 Εἰς ἐγχείριον τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου

|Περὶ στεράν σε χρυσεῖαν μεταφρένοις
εἰδώς, κόρη, σκέπουσιν εὖρον πολλάκις,
πτέρυξι ταῖς σαῖς ἀρπαγεῖς ἄδου μέσον·
σὺ γάρ πόνων λύτερα δυσλύτων νόσων,
μικρὰν ἀμοιβὴν τοιγαροῦν ἀντισφύρων,
|σκέπω τύπον σὸν χρυσοπάστῳ πορφύρῳ
ἐν σοὶ σεβαστὸς Γουδέλης Τζικανδύλης.¹
Σὺ δ' ἄλλ' ἀπαρχὴν χαρίτων νεωτέρων
τίθει τὸ δῶρον εὐθέως λαβοῦσα μου
καὶ νοῦν² μὲν ἐν γῇ θλίψεων νόσων ρύου
καὶ συμφορῶν κοίμιζε ποικίλας ζάλας
τέλος δὲ καὶ σκῆνωμα τὴν Ἑδέμ διδου,
|σὺν Εὐδοκίᾳ συζύγῳ σώζουσά με,
ἢ πορφυρανθοῦς ἐξέρψι Θεοδώρας.

1 Lampros ed.: Τζικανδήλης

2 Hörandner suggests alternative: ναῦν

Some Social-Anthropological Aspects of Boeotian Rural Society: A Field-Report

Cliff SLAUGHTER, Charalambos KASIMIS

The Cambridge and Bradford Boeotia expedition, which began systematic work in 1979 following a reconnaissance in the previous summer, constitutes an attempt to provide a framework for understanding the development of the society and the culture of the area from prehistoric to modern times.¹ It is anticipated that the survey will take some ten years, with work by specialists in history, palynology, the history of vegetation, statistics, artifact analysis, and so on, all of which will supplement an archaeological surface survey. What follows is an initial report on the findings of the social-anthropological work carried out during short summer field-trips in the first five years.²

1. The Cambridge and Bradford Boeotia Expedition has been supported by an annual grant from the British Academy, with additional generous assistance from the British School of Archaeology in Athens and the Universities of Cambridge and Bradford. Its joint directors are Dr. J.L. Bintliff, University of Bradford, and Professor A.M. Snodgrass, University of Cambridge. The authors wish to express their gratitude and indebtedness to the directors and to all other participants in the project.

2. The surface survey method was chosen as a response to some of the problems of contemporary Greek archaeology. It is especially suited to Boeotia — in classical times a federation of city states — because it works against the common bias towards a single urban centre. It also allows, of course, a correction of the tendency to concentrate on urban rather than rural settlements, and this is important for such an area as Boeotia, which is and has been for millennia reliant on agriculture. It goes without saying that relations between country and town are crucial. The fact that Boeotia was an area relatively neglected by archaeology has also been taken into

Analysis of the relevance of our sociological findings for the results of the survey as a whole must, of course, await further work, and our aim is to achieve as coherent an understanding as possible of the processes of change and the stimuli behind them, with some consideration of their historical background. We present here only some aspects of our finds thus far, and will not at this stage attempt any integrated analysis and synthesis.

In the main body of this article, therefore, and after a brief historical background, with a note on the special place of Lake Kopais, we present preliminary findings on some recent changes in social structure, with particular reference to landholding and to some questions on the changing relationship between agricultural and industrial occupations. These themes are collected from materials collected in interviews, observation, and work on original documents and statistics in eight villages in the Thebes area and in Thebes itself which produced data on population and migration,³ occupations,⁴ agriculture (land-use, crops, mechanisation),⁵ Lake Kopais,⁶ co-operative enterprises,⁷

account. Cf. the report by Bintliff and Snodgrass on the first five years' work of the Expedition in *Journal of Field Archaeology*, July 1985.

3. Present-day and recent population figures of Boeotia and its communities are derived from national censuses since 1851, from the estimates made in travellers' accounts, from documents in local administration offices, and from histories of the area. We have obtained the complete pre-census returns for the villages of Mavrommati and Palio-Panagia for the 1981 Agricultural Section of the Population Census. This constitutes an invaluable data-base, containing very detailed information on population, property, and family structure, submitted by each individual household (a total of some 700). We have also, for Mavrommati, complete name-list and summary returns at village level for the 1971 census. Mavrommati parish registers give the complete record of male births since 1851, with information on place of origin of spouses, occupation, age, family connections etc. (*Censuses of Population 1851-1931*, Athens; *Censuses of Population E.S.Y.E.* (National Statistical Office of Greece) Athens 1951, 1961, 1971).

On our first field trip we discovered the virtually discarded records of a complete 'cadastral' survey made of 19 communities (including all those in our survey area) in 1955, the purpose being to levy a small percentage tax for maintenance of the 'Rural Guard' in the area. Every single landholder in every community was questioned and entries made for name, father's name, residence, occupation, and amount of land owned in various crop categories (basically, olives, vines, wheat and vegetables needing irrigation). From the 1955 data we extracted a stratified sample of peasant owners (stratified, that is, by size of holding) for the villages of Bagia, Mavrommati, Palio-Panagia, Neochori, Thespieae, Leontari, and Xironomi. This produced a list of 160 proprietors. We then went to each village and traced the evolution of the family property and the family members.

Sources:

Unpublished data from Census of Population 1981 (E.S.Y.E.) Agricultural Section. Parish Registers 1841-1981, located in Town Hall, Mavrommati and in the one church of Mavrommati.

Administration documents, located in Town Hall, Mavrommati, not systematically filed.

1955 Cadastral Records — location, Rural Guard Office, Thebes. Destroyed by Government order, 1984.

See also:

Deltion, 1963, 1968, 1973, 1978, 1980. E.S.Y.E., Athens.

Deltion, Agricultural Chamber of Attica-Boeotia. Athens 1930.

Travellers:

Clarke, E.D., *Travels* (London 1818).

Dodwell, E., *A Classical and Geographical tour through Greece during the years 1801, 1805 and 1806* (London 1819).

Farrer, R.R., *A Tour in Greece, 1880* (London 1882).

Gell, W., *The Itinerary of Greece, containing routes in Attica, Boeotia, Phocis, Iocris and Thessaly* (London 1819).

Hughes, J., *Travels in Greece and Albania* (1812) (London 1835, 1857).

Mahaffy, J.P., *Rambles and Studies in Greece* (1876) (London 1887).

Mure, W., *Journal of a Tour in Greece and the Islands* (London 1842).

Pouqueville, F.C.H.L., *Voyage de la Grèce* (Paris 1816).

Simopoulos, K., *Pos idan e xeni taxidiotes tin Ellada toy '21* (Athens 1980); *Xeni taxidiotes stin Ellada* (Athens 1975).

Thiersch, F., *E Ellada tou Kapodistria* (first published Athens 1833).

Wheler, G.G., *A Journey Into Greece* (with A. Spon) (London 1689).

Wyse, T., *Impressions of Greece* (London 1786).

Histories:

Hiotis, P., *Peri tis katastaseos tis bambakokalliergias en ti peripheria Levadias* (Piraeus 1931); *Peri tis kniseos tou bambakos kai ton lipton metron* (Piraeus 1931).

Loukas-Fanopoulos, G., *Thiva kai Livadia, horike kai horaite sto '21* (Athens 1976) 2 vols.

Papaleontiou, D.G., *E Elea en ti eparchia Thivon* (Athens 1934).

Tsevas, G., *Istoria ton Thivon kai tis Boiotias* (Athens 1928).

4. For one year, 1978, we have a complete picture of the occupations of males in Mavrommati. For other years a reasonably accurate estimate can be made from the returns of the *kinotis* to higher administrative bodies. (Copies in Town Hall, Mavrommati, unfilled). We have in addition the material extracted from 200 interview returns.

5. The materials listed in notes 1 and 2 above, and especially the returns for the 1981 census, are useful, together with the information contained in *kinotis* returns to the Ministry of Agriculture (area for each crop, volume of production, livestock, machinery, other occupations of cultivators). Detailed information is also available on agricultural and craft production and number of enterprises. Mechanisation can be comprehensively described from several sources (see below). A body of some 40 individual farm budgets has been collected, together with information supplied by agronomists and other experts on cost of production of the main crops.

Sources:

Kinotis of Mavrommati,

'Census of agricultural and livestock holdings' 1961 (unpublished)

industrialisation,⁸ and local politics.⁹ In addition, we have carried out some 100 informal interviews collected over the period from 1978 (and concentrating in 1981 on the older residents of the areas concerned). These are in addition to interviews conducted

'Census of buildings', 1960.

'Census of establishments', 1969.

'Correspondence 1949-1981' (official and unofficial).

'List of landowners and landownership from the 1971 census', 1971.

'Mavrommati residents fully employed in agriculture', 1969.

'Non-agricultural proprietorships', 1968.

'Properties of the kinotis' (land and buildings), 1969.

'Structure of local employment by age groups', 1973.

'Tax list for animals', years 1952-53, 1953-54, 1954-55, 1955-56.

'Tax list for crops', years 1946-47, 1947-48, 1948-49, 1949-50, 1950-51, 1951-52, 1952-53, 1953-54.

(Mavrommati and Kopais in two different categories). 'Tax list for olive trees', years, 1949-50, 1953-54.

Ministry of Agriculture (Boeotia Branch).

'Apologismos georgikou programmatos etous 1979 ke stohiepthioxis etous 1980' (Report on the agricultural programme of 1979, targets and pursuits for 1980) (Levadia 1980).

Also 'Apologismos . . . 1980' (Levadia 1981).

'Prices of various agricultural products and machinery: years 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981' (Levadia 1981).

'Production and land cultivated for various crops: years 1978, 1979, 1980' (Levadia 1981).

6. We have obtained the figures for distribution to village communities of the land of the drained Lake Kopais (1955), and we have in addition the detailed individual list for Mavrommati. This completes our picture of landholding in the middle-1950s, and also provides a valuable check against interview responses concerning individual property and inheritance. We have some (not complete) material on subsequent sales and renting of this land by individuals. There is also material on the operation of farming and irrigation on Kopais, as well as on the relation between Kopais cultivators and the market, particularly by food-processing companies which are located at Haliartos. See:

Ephimeris tis kivrineseos tou vassiliou tis Elladas, Nos 195, 232 and 291 (1953) (Athens 1953) and No. 133 (1960) (Athens 1960).

Organismos Kopaidas, *E. Kopaida se heria Ellinika* (Haliartos 1958).

Kopais Organisation, *Original Kopais Land Distribution List* (Mavrommati n.d.); and *General Distribution List to villages* (Haliartos n.d.) (location Kopais Organisation, Haliartos).

Kanaginis, P. *To kopaidikon zitima* (Athens 1929).

Roussis, N. 'Se Anazitisi "Chrisis Tomis" ya tin ardefsi tis Kopaidas', *Ekonomikos Tachydromos* 1224 (Athens 1977).

7. Annual records and accounts contained in the offices of the co-operatives of Mavrommati, Bagia and Palio-Panagia.

8. In addition to the traditional (agricultural, craft and local service) occupations, thousands of men and women from the villages of Central and Eastern Boeotia are

for specific purposes — in connection with the 1955 'cadastral' survey, for example (see note 1 above). This has also provided valuable additional material for the analysis of food and diet, the household economy, and socio-economic differentiation.

Finally, we have supplemented the material already listed by local histories and other relevant secondary literature, to try to illuminate the history of the area in the period after the war of independence to the present day, and with regard to the last fifty years in particular.¹⁰

The Historical Background

The population of the villages in the area of Thebes is overwhelmingly Albanian in origin (though this is not the case for Thebes itself). There are, of course, other parts of Greece where

employed as wage-workers in the factories of the Thebes industrial area. Factories just outside Thebes, built since the mid-1960's, mostly by multinational companies and their Greek subsidiaries (Tupperware, Ideal Standard, etc.), now employ over 18,000 workers, and factory buses travel to and from nearly all of the villages in the area, with workers on more than one shift. Interviews have been recorded with the managers of the main factories as well as with workers from several villages, and information has been collected from trade unions and local authorities on the nature and impact of the industrialisation. See:

Nomarchia Boiotias: *protaseis chorotaxikis organesis* (synoptike Skedio domikon paraprason) (Athens March 1984);

Ypiresia Programmatismou: Ekthesi, Nomou Boiotias, 1983-1987 (Livadia, 18 June 1982).

In addition, see unpublished lists of employees at all factories in the area, trade union general office, Thebes.

9. Our observations and interviews provide the basis for an account of political affiliations and changes in the village of Mavrommati, and in relation to regional political developments in Boeotia. Our visits have spread over the last years of Karamanlis' 'New Democracy' Government, the rise of Pasok, and the election and first year of the Pasok Government. Recent local results and statistics for local and general elections for 1977; 1981 and 1982 (October) are sufficiently detailed to be very useful in this analysis. (These are recorded and kept in the Town Hall, Mavrommati, in the office of the Town Clerk).

10. Other participants in the Expedition's work are now specialising in earlier history. We have confined ourselves, apart from a survey of the material concerning the original settlement of the Albanian-speaking communities (ca. 1380 A.D.), to the 19th and 20th-century historical background. There is a great deal of material available from travellers' and other observers' accounts (see Note 3, above). In addition, there is the material now in process of being edited and published on the post-War of Independence land-allotment. (cf. Loukas-Fanopoulos, *op.cit.*, note 3 above) We are systematically collating all material relevant to the villages and our survey area in recent historical publications, though this is very sparse and the project awaits the analysis of a historian proper, to begin in the near future.

this is the case. In Boeotia the majority of original Albanian settlers came in the latter part of the period of Catalan rule. King Pedro IV of Aragon, in the early 1380s, is said to have allotted land and animals to some 20,000 Albanian settlers, seeking strength against the Navarrese. These settlers were relieved of tax obligations for the past two years. They were concentrated in the area of entrance to the plain of Thebes and in accessible coastal areas. Earlier, in 1350, some 8,000 Albanians had been settled in the Duchy of Morea.¹¹

Mavrommati, according to local tradition, was a military settlement, *stratochori*, called a *katounda*,¹² in a place called Kharmaina, west of its present position in the direction of Haliartos. The settler or *kollega*¹³ cultivated a portion of land, providing his own implements of production and paying a share of his production to the *timariouchos*, who usually supplied the seed free and took two-thirds of the product. They both, however, had to pay a one-tenth tax to the 'Regional Duke' (Biris uses the term *topikosarchon*). Under this sort of military tenancy of land the cultivators had to provide certain numbers of soldiers and horsemen to serve under the *timariouchos* in times of need, according to the size of land worked. If at times the *kollega* could not cultivate the whole of his land then the *timariouchos* had the right to put in temporary cultivators (*kollokia*). Some men with no property or tenancy at all worked on the land as wage earners (*parakendethes*).

Although the inhabitants of Mavrommati and the other villages in the survey area still speak a form of Albanian (and until the 1930's some spoke no Greek) it has not been possible to discover

11. cf. W. Miller *The Latins in the Levant* (London 1908) 317; *idem*, *Essays in the Latin Orient* (London 1921) 129, and K. Biris, *Arvanites, oi Dorieis tou neoterou Ellenismou* (Athens 1960) 89.

12. *Katounda*. In Durham (see note 14) and Biris, *op. cit.*, the word *Katoun* (*Katun*) is said to refer both to a band of herdsman and to a given pastoral territory (hence *Katunar*, head of a *Katun*). However *Katouna* occurs in the 10th century and earlier, in Greece, to refer to a military encampment. See, e.g., *Cecaumeni Strategicon et incerti scriptoris De Officiis Regiis Libellus*, edd. B. Wassiliowsky, V. Jernstedt (St. Petersburg 1896/Amsterdam 1965), 11¹¹; Du Cange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis* (Leyden 1688/Paris 1943) s.v., 623.

13. *Kollega*. One of several terms used for forms of sharecropping in Ottoman times. cf. P. Ayanoglou, *To perasma apo ti feodarchia sto kapitalismo stin Ellada* (Athens 1982). One may still hear the expression: 'he works like a *kollega*'. C. Moskof, *Esagogiki stin istoria tou kinimatos tis ergatikis taxeos* (Thessaloniki 1979) G. Tsopotou *Ghi kai georgoitis Thessalias kata tin Tourkokratian* (Volos 1912).

any social or cultural identity which would distinguish them from Greeks of non-Albanian descent.¹⁴ In the 1821 War of Independence, many leaders were of Albanian origin (the Botsaris family, Bouboulina, the famous Souliotes).¹⁵

A picture of social conditions in the area in the 19th century may be built up from several travellers' accounts. Greek historians are now beginning to edit and publish documents from the days of the establishment of the independent Greek state, so that records of the names of 'captains' in the War from the area, as well as the land-allocations made to them or their widows, now begin to provide some basis for historical reconstruction. In the 19th and preceding centuries, travellers' accounts present an impression of the continued fertility of the Boeotian plain. However, there are many references to the great pressure of tax burdens in the Ottoman period. In the 18th century, the crisis of the Ottoman regime is seen to lead to an intensification of this pressure and encroachment on the rights and liberties of many previously free villages. As for the 19th century, what predominates is a breakdown of civil order. The years immediately preceeding the War of Independence and the War itself, of course, interrupted cultivation in the area and took many men into the army of liberation.

Throughout almost all the remainder of the century, the long struggle to stabilise the newly independent state economically and politically, with conflicts over the settlement of the land question at the centre, meant that the vast majority of peasant cultivators in Boeotia lived in conditions of economic backwardness, with a bare-subsistence standard of living, enduring long periods of absence of law and order. Thus at the beginning of the century, Clarke wrote:

To our eyes, the plain of Boeotia appeared like one vast natural garden. Yet the labouring peasants, who are all of them Albanians, (the idea of industry

14. Many place-names in Boeotia are Albanian, some taken from the names of Albanian soldiers, etc. e.g. Kapareli, from Kaparelis, Kakosi, from Kakosis ('cock' in Albanian), Mazi, from Mavis ('head' i.e. 'top' in Albanian), Kasnesi, from Kasnesis (though a possibility is the common Albanian place-name Kashnjeti, from *kashnja*, chestnut (cf. M.E. Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Law and Customs of the Balkans* (London 1928) 234). The Albanian now spoken is a late form, incorporating many Greek words.

15. Biris, *op. cit.*

in Greece having no other association than that of an Albanian peasant,) complain everywhere of oppression: and indeed the labours of the plough can hardly be considered as a peaceful occupation, in a land where the husbandmen appear in the fields armed as for battle. Such, however, seems to have been the condition of the country ever since the days of Homer.¹⁶

The Financial Commission investigating the Greek government's failure to meet payments on its loan from the great powers, surveyed conditions from 1857 to 1859.¹⁷ Their report refers in the following terms to our survey area:—

Turning our heads towards Thebes, we soon entered on the upper level of a great stretch of plain, with the high ridge of Ptoum and the mountains which divide it from the small lake of Hylice on the right, whilst on our left still ran the distant spurs and offshoots of our old Attic friend, Mount Parnes. Here and there, traces of arable cultivation, and also of pasturage, though feeble, were visible; but there were no divisions of land, no trees, villages, or habitations of men: the richest soil, magnificent alluvium, but no hands to give it fair play . . . (p.62)

. . . the very few inhabitants we had met; the immense quantity of ground untouched; the absence of wood after leaving Steveniko; the monotonous brushwood; the bad roads; in fine the sensation of neglect, desertion, and depression which pervades all Boeotia, save the mountain districts we had just travelled through . . . (p.92)

The general want in the country is — hands and knowledge, and there are neither. Agriculture is at a very low ebb in this district, indeed everywhere, and not one-half produced or gathered than might be with a little more management. The principal produce here is cotton — daily increasing — and grain; but the wine is very indifferent. The Government allows the *Dime* to be paid here either in money or kind, but money payment is preferred, especially where the magazines are far apart — three miles being the proper distance between each . . . (p.97).

Several commentators in the 1880s note the sparseness of cultivation (e.g. Farrer 1882: 'The road (from Thebes to Khalkis) lies over low ground, once passing fertile, but now guiltless of cultivation'; and Mahaffy, 1887: 'The natural richness of the Boeotian soil thus supplies them with ample crops. But it is strange to think how impossible it is, even in these rich and favoured plains, to induce a fuller population').¹⁸ Near the end of the century, a British consular report of 1890 states: 'Cultivators in

Boeotia extracted a bare subsistence from the soil'.¹⁹ Boeotia was not atypical. At the turn of the century, the whole of Greece's export earnings were required to purchase wheat imports; and this in a country where some 75% of the active population was engaged in agriculture. (It should be noted that after the land-distribution of 1871, the majority of peasants turned to the production of more profitable export crops, such as tobacco, raisins, wine and figs.)

There is no doubt that the heritage of the later years of Turkish rule constituted a heavy burden. The Turkish administration had become increasingly inefficient. Reacting to severe exploitation and the absence of any independent rights of ownership, many peasant cultivators deserted the fertile plains for semi-mountainous areas. Thus 'in the Pyrgos and Boeotian plains cultivators descended from the hills only at planting and harvest time'.²⁰

An anonymous source quoted by Asdrachas²¹ notes that 18th-century Thebes and the surrounding area 'lacks cultivators because of the unbearable vexations of so many changes, forty parcels of land left fallow for every one which is cultivated for that reason. The *rayahs* take up animals, sheep, goats, cows and mares and meet the charges that way.'

The only detailed example we have from Boeotia in the late Turkish period (1790s) shows the weight pressing on the direct producers. Of a total production of 300 bushels of wheat, 123 bushels are taken in charges (tithe, cost of mares for threshing, fees to various officials, food for harvesters, cost of seed, etc). The remainder of 177 bushels is divided equally between landlord and peasant. There was a wide variety of types of landholding and share-cropping, but at Independence Kapodistrias reported a two-to-one preponderance of Turkish state land over Greek holdings in Greece as a whole.²²

Among the Greek soldiers who fought the 1821 War of Independence against Turkish domination were many men from

16. E.D. Clarke, *Travels*, Part II, London 1818.

17. General Report of the Commission appointed at Athens to examine into Financial Condition of Greece, presented to House of Commons (London 1860).

18. Farrer, *op. cit.*; Mahaffy, *op. cit.*

19. Great Britain Consular Report No. 1112 (London 1891).

20. G. Palaologos, *Georgike kai oikiake oikonomia* (Nauplion 1833).

21. S. Asdrachas, 'Pragmatikotites apo ton Elliniko 18o aiona', *Epoches* 13 (May 1964).

22. W.W. McGrew, *Land and Revolution in Greece, 1821-71* (University of Cincinnati, Ph.D. Thesis, 1980) 184.

Boeotia. The villages of Mavrommati, Askra, Xironomi, Bagia, Leontari, and several others, besides Thebes itself, are among the places of residence in the lists of troops, petitioners, delegates and widows which have survived from the 1820's and early 1830's.²³ It was not only in respect of loss of able-bodied fighting men that these communities suffered, however. There was much fighting in Boeotia itself, and villagers abandoned the area for several years. With whatever possessions they could carry, they travelled in fishing boats from Livadostra, Alikí and Saranti, and set up temporary residence in Salamis, Poros and Megara. Documents of the period show the names of heads of families, settled in these latter places, electing and certifying their political delegates and officers.²⁴ Another document carried the names of men from several Boeotian villages and signed by the Greek Minister of the Interior in Nauplia. It is dated after the armistice but before their own return to their native villages, and its purpose is to give authority to one Bouzakis to check local administrative spending in the area.²⁵ A document of 29th July 1829 details voting for the new electoral college of the newly independent state, by men of Boeotian villages (Kasnesi, Bagia and others) but resident in Poros.²⁶ The Bishop of Thebes certifies several of these documents.²⁷ It was only after nine years of fighting that Boeotia was freed (ending in the battle of Petra, where the Turks were pushed back to Thermopylae).²⁸ Inhabitants of the villages of the region came back to start afresh among the ruins. The dry language of social-economic analysis, to the effect that post-Revolution Greek agriculture suffered above all from lack of capital, cannot convey the enormity of the task facing these communities. Without implements, with very few draft animals, even with many of the best young and active men lost in the fighting, and with no money, they set about making a living with their bare hands. Very few had the money to buy the lands which for a brief period Turkish owners were selling cheap, and the Boeotian plain became part of the famous 'National Lands'. Some allotments were given in compensation

23. Loukas-Fanopoulos, *op. cit.*, note 3 above.

24. Loukas-Fanopoulos, *op. cit.*

25. Loukas-Fanopoulos, *op. cit.*

26. Loukas-Fanopoulos, *op. cit.*

27. Loukas-Fanopoulos, *op. cit.*

28. Loukas-Fanopoulos, *op. cit.*

to ex-soldiers and war-widows.²⁹ Several of the descendants of officers given land in this way refer today to these origins. Typically, one Bagia farmer told us that his family's land derived from his ancestor's being told by the military governor in 1830: 'Stand on this hill, and all that you see to the West is yours'.³⁰ It is interesting to see what was thought to be the minimum holding for family survival in the land-grants of the day: 40 stremmata of irrigated land; 80 stremmata of plains land; or 120 stremmata of dry and hilly land.³¹ Folk-memory of this sort confuses special grants to the Royal Phalanx and purchases under favourable terms by ex-soldiers and widows.

Government policy on the sale of the national lands, under the Dotation Laws of 1835 and 1836, was inconsistent and dilatory, above all because the lands were mortgaged for loans from Britain, France and Russia. The 1835-36 legislation authorised the purchase by peasants of small plots of land (part of the National Lands). For this purpose, low-interest loans over 36 years were to be made available. However, the land was distributed on an auction-system basis, and better-off cultivators pushed prices beyond the reach of the mass of peasants. A recent summary by the Agricultural Bank of Greece describes the resultant national situation:

As a result, the overwhelming majority of peasants became tenants on the National Lands, while a much smaller number became sharecroppers on the farms of the few big landowners . . . A 15 per cent rent charge on the gross product was imposed in addition to the traditional tithe. Thus, despite the fact that some land had been given to the tillers and despite the State's declared support for the small family farm, the imposition of those heavy charges threw the peasants back into the clutches of the moneylender and the middleman.³²

The poverty of the cultivators was such that very few peasant families became owners of sufficient land for their needs. The law of 25th March 1871 distributed 265,000 hectares to 357,217 peasants, resulting in some 80 per cent of cultivators becoming small proprietors. Maximum size of holding was fixed at 8 hec-

29. McGrew, *op. cit.*, note 22 above.

30. Loukas-Fanopoulos, *op. cit.*

31. Law of June 24, 1842 (Govt. Gazette No. 20, June 28, 1843, p.88), cited by McGrew, *op. cit.*, 348.

32. *Agricultural Bank of Greece* (intro. by A. Pepelasis) 1981.

tares for non-irrigated and 4 hectares for irrigated land. Arable land could be bought on loan at 5 per cent over twenty-five years, and olives, vines and others at 8 per cent over eighteen years.³³ The peasants continued, however, to suffer extreme exploitation and inability to accumulate capital, because they remained victims of moneylenders (at rates from 15 to 40 per cent) and merchants, who controlled all access to the market for food products. In 1881, Arta and Thessaly became part of the independent Greek state. The big landowners of Thessaly dominated the country's politics to the turn of the century. Their successful imposition of corn laws prevented any further modernisation or liberalisation until the land-distribution legislation of Venizelos in 1917-28.³⁴

The question of land ownership, and especially the future of the national lands, was certainly the principal social question of post-revolutionary Greece, but it had specific features in Boeotia which are of some importance in the formation of today's social structure. The area of our present survey was one of those in which Turkish state property predominated and peasants had no property title to the land they worked. Some worked on the *tassaruf* system, in which they had quasi-permanent rights of tenancy provided they cultivated the land once in three years and kept up payments due to the *sipahi*. The *tassaruf* was not alienable by the *sipahi*. One of the sources of social conflict in the last decades of Ottoman rule was a decline in the security and prosperity of these tenants. Others were in the less favourable position of being share-croppers of one sort or another (*kollega*, *sembros*, *zevgitis*). At the lowest level the cultivator owed labour dues as well as heavy payments. Insofar as one may speak of typical conditions, a peasant family would subsist on the produce of an area (the *zevgarion*) workable by a plough drawn by one yoke of oxen. According to region and type of soil, and remembering of course that often over one half of the product was paid in dues and taxes, such a cultivable unit varied between 40 and 100 stremmata.³⁵

Some of the regional differences in modern Greek agriculture are related to the legacy of Turkish rule and the Independence

settlement. In some areas, especially Thessaly, Turkish estate owners sold their ciftliks to Greeks, and the type of cultivation and consequent social relations persisting today bear the mark of this. In areas like Boeotia, the Turkish state lands denominated 'national lands' were often left undistributed and uncultivated after independence. At the same time it is very clear that *tassaruf* lands, the basis of the livelihood of many peasants, were included in these state appropriations, making their tenants worse off than under Turkish rule. This naturally led to severe social conflicts, complicated when allocations were made to war veterans and widows. The law of 1843 was a response to such protests, excluding from grants to ex-soldiers any peasants' land 'occupied by them from time immemorial'. However, they paid heavy usufruct dues, and did not have legal title.³⁶ Throughout the rest of the century, land-tenure was a mass of confusion. Besides those with legal freehold title to their land and ex-*tassaruf* holders recognised by the 1843 Law, there was a wide assortment of rights and titles, the only common basis of which was that the occupiers had successfully 'squatted' on the land. The land legislation of 1871 still referred to the majority of all occupied land as held outside any legal title.³⁷

Boeotia, Attica and Euboia were still under Turkish control when the armistice was signed, under the auspices of the Great Powers, and remained so until the final withdrawal.³⁸ In consequence, peasant proprietorship in the Boeotian plain was especially subject to all the vagaries of the 'national lands' problem.

There are political reasons, too, for the persistent failure to face up to and solve this aspect of the agrarian question. Prominent local men of the Greek small town and village communities had served the Turkish rulers in managing many aspects of trade, finance and administration, and these *kocabasi* (*kocabasilar*) (in Greek, *archōn*, *prokritos*, etc.) were in effect a powerful class in the countryside. Their local power was by no means destroyed by the War of Independence, though the revolutionary social conflicts of those years varied in intensity and consequences in different regions. One historian notes, of the new Greek state,

33. McGrew, *op. cit.*, Ch. XIII.

34. McGrew, *op. cit.*, Ch. XIII, and cf. R. Clogg, *History of Modern Greece* (London 1982).

35. McGrew, *op. cit.*, 50-78.

36. *Ibid.*, Ch. XI.

37. *Ibid.*, Ch. XIII.

38. *Ibid.*

The Bavarians could import a few Europeans to write laws and Phanariots to preside over ministries in Athens. However, the actual administration throughout the country fell to the class of men who had occupied the lower ranks of the Ottoman power structure, village elders, tax-farmers and armed guards.³⁹

For the present purposes, it is important only to note that these administrators, in the 19th century, very often acquiesced in and even encouraged the usurpation of land by squatters, in order to assure revenues and to secure their grip on local politics in the well-known 'clientist' manner, and this is an important factor in creating the present pattern of small peasant ownership. It is certainly true that the large-scale distribution of the Venizelos period (1917, 1928)⁴⁰ is formative of the present unique Greek pattern, but it would be a mistake to underestimate this 19th-century background.

Another feature which should be taken into account, and of special importance in Boeotia, is the oft-remarked brigandage which was rife in the area and was noted by many travellers, especially in the 1840s and 1850s. There was in fact no regular security until the last decades of the century. Some of these robber-gangs consisted of ex-irregular soldiers in the years after the War of Independence. Others served local 'war-lords' like Nicolas Kriezotis, whose rebellion was attributed to the Government's rejection of his demand for a grant of land close to Thebes.⁴¹ Poor communications and a real separation between central power in Athens and the provinces made this a considerable threat to life in the agricultural communities. Along with factors such as disease, especially malaria near Lake Kopais, isolation resulting from roads falling into disrepair, and the decades-long, even centuries-long, neglect of conduits, bridges, irrigation canals and so on, it was responsible for the desertion of many small villages during the middle years of the nineteenth century. The small and more isolated villages such as Asprokampos and Morokampos (near Bagia) suffered most from the attacks of robbers. The spring called Diavolos, near Morokampos (in some summers today the

site of a large gypsy encampment) was named, it is said, after one of the most notorious of these robbers.⁴²

There was no possibility of any basic change in the pattern of agriculture and land-tenure. To restore the infrastructure of much of the plains land, after long years of neglect, war, and withdrawal of cultivators to more mountainous areas, would have required a great input of capital without any hope of quick return. The insecurity of conditions and isolation of the agricultural areas from urban markets meant that capital could not be attracted, especially when there was the prospect of profitable investment in commerce, urban land and building, and shipping.

A British Consular Report of 1904⁴³ cited the return of investment in agriculture as 2 to 3% compared with 7 to 8% for other types of investment. Not only was there a lack of funds for the basic re-equipping of agriculture but there was also a dire shortage of labour in the non-mountain areas. Given the situation after the 1830s, when the cultivators who were on the plains could find ways of occupying land on their own behalf, this labour shortage became chronic. It was later compounded, of course, by large-scale emigration. Small ownership could not but predominate.

The newly independent Greek state had entertained high hopes of raising revenues from the rural population of cultivators (in 1851, 82% of the total population), both through sale of national lands expropriated from the Turks, and subsequently from tax revenue. These hopes were, of course, totally misplaced. In the eparchy of Thebes, for example, only 5,307 stremmata of national lands had been purchased under the 1835-6 Dotation Laws by 1867.⁴⁴ Compare this with Capodistria's estimate at the Poros Conference of 172,370 stremmata of Turkish-owned land in the Thebes area!⁴⁵ Not only was the mass of the rural population impoverished, but agriculture was suffering from a backwardness induced by maladministration, neglect and shortage of capital, nor was there any growing and flourishing urban market for agricultural produce, especially under conditions where elementary means of efficient transport and communication were

39. McGrew, *op. cit.*, 450, and cf. Ch. VII.

40. cf. C. Evelpidis, *La réforme agraire en Grèce* (Athens 1926) *passim*, and B. Alivisatos, *La réforme agraire en Grèce* (Paris 1932) *passim*.

41. Cf. the detailed British Government reports and papers cited by Romilly Jenkins in his *The Dilessi Murders* (London 1961).

42. Taken from interviews.

43. British Consular Report No. 3302, on the Finances, economic progress and agriculture of Greece for the year 1904.

44. McGrew, Ch. XI.

45. *Ibid.*, Ch. IV.

lacking. Cash incomes were not accessible to the peasant, yet the state demanded cash revenues. Out of all these conditions grew that familiar and paradoxical feature of Greek social life: a mass of small peasant proprietors yet with a consciousness directly concerned with matters of government, the state and its agencies, an ethos of mistrust of these agencies, and a high value attached to the cunning and cleverness of those who are able to deceive and frustrate the workings of the state. We may conclude this sketch of the economic backwardness of the agricultural areas and the sharp contradiction between capital and provinces by a striking comparison involving Boeotia directly. Noting that Athens and some other urban areas took their grain supplies more cheaply from abroad than they could from Greece, McGrew writes:

In the 1860's it cost eight to ten *lepta* to ship an *oka* of freight between Athens and Levadia, four *lepta* between Athens and Marathon, and 3.5 *lepta* between Liverpool and Piraeus.⁴⁶

Little had changed from the time, early in the century, when travellers reckoned the journey between Levadia and Thebes as eleven or twelve hours, with no direct road having been built. Only in the 1890s were road and railway built between these two main towns.

Appendix: A note on the population of Mavrommati in the post-Second World War period

Thebes and the villages to the West of the city have today a population just over four times that recorded in the first national census of 1851, in which the following figures are representative:

Table I — (1851)

	families	persons
Thebes (central)	555	2626
(Piri)	180	751
(Agios Theodoros)	140	647
(Tachi)	14	60
Thebes (total)	889	4089
Bagia	150	635
Kasnesi (now in Bagia)	74	336
	224	971
Mavrommati	97	483
Leontari	58	266

To the uneven and sparse information contained in our historical introduction, we may add the following material on post-Second World War changes, taking Mavrommati as representative of most of the villages in the survey area.

According to estimates by local officials, emigration to the U.S.A. in the first half of this century amounted to some 100 males and 50 females. After World War II we have the following picture:

Table II — Population Changes (Mavrommati)

YEAR	1951	1961	1971	1981
males	900	900	808	1017
females	955	1069	950	1200
Total	1855	2059	1758	2217

46. *Ibid.*

The picture changed dramatically in the following decade (1961-71) and population dropped from 2059 to 1758, a percentage loss of 14.5%. This reduction is undoubtedly Mavrommati's contribution to the massive national loss of population through emigration at that time. The process had been temporarily checked by the Kopais distribution. Adverse economic conditions in Greece and the opening up of labour opportunities in West Germany and Australia impelled considerable numbers to emigrate. In addition a considerable number of people left Greece after the military coup in 1967. Between 1958 and 1970, 1,100,000 people emigrated.

According to a rough estimate by one of the town clerks, between 1950-70 external migration had reached about 100 (one should remember that the bulk of this was in the 1960s rather than 1950s). In the same period some 500 people moved to Greek urban centres in search of employment. Half of these were girls who left the villages either to learn a skill in the town (hairdressing, dressmaking etc.) or to marry elsewhere.

Two factors slowed the decline during this period. The first was a phenomenon which is at first sight puzzling: an inward movement of wives from Thessaly and other northern provinces in the 1950s and 1960s, mainly because of the seasonal need for labour for the olive harvest: many people from mountainous or generally poor regions used to come to Mavrommati seeking employment. The Parish records show a number of brides originating from the area of Karditsa in Thessaly, and it was later explained that it was during their seasonal employment that they had met their future husbands (see below p.142). The second factor slowing population decline was a preponderance of births over deaths. One informant considered that the main bulk of migration took place in the period 1957-70, and this makes sense for two reasons. First, by 1957 the effect of the Kopais distributions was beginning to fade, and second, the military junta, after 1967, abolished all debts of the peasantry and provided all the legal and economic preconditions for the regional development of industry North and South of the Prefecture of Attica. During that 13-year period there was, according to another estimate, an internal migration of approximately 200 females getting married outside Mavrommati and 200 males getting employment in urban centres. Furthermore, in the same period 100 persons emigrated abroad (the majority males).

The twentieth century and the role of Lake Kopais

Among the Boeotian areas designated 'national lands' after 1830 was Lake Kopais. From 1840 onwards the Greek Government put out several contracts for the drainage of the Lake. The Sarazine Monferrière and Vonar Company, given the rights in 1860, went bankrupt in 1873. In 1882 a French company undertook the work. Their work was completed by 1886, but they were ruined by the fact that the exposed lake bed consisted of some four metres of peat. The spontaneous combustion of these deposits took the bed three metres down, so that the lake re-formed with the drainage tunnels above its level. On behalf of the French company's creditors, a British company took over in 1887. Only in 1923 was a satisfactory method of drainage devised, and the work was not completed until 1931.⁴⁷

To the severe technical problems were added equally difficult social ones. Of the 241,000 stremmata defined as the Lake area by Government Commissioners, the British Company claimed that 28,427 stremmata were lost to illegal appropriations by adjoining large landowners. In 1925 the Company's claims for return of this land were paid off in the sum of £60,000. As part of the same agreement, the Company was to keep 30,000 stremmata of the eventually drained land, the rest to be put up for sale as freehold plots, reverting to the Company if not sold within a certain time. The Company was also granted rights for 99 years to develop hydro-electric workings on the waters flowing to and from the nearby Lakes Iliki and Paralimni.⁴⁸ The Government itself also had an option to buy any of the land not taken up by cultivators. In the event, none of the land was sold, leaving the Company freehold owner of the whole of the land, and they proceeded to exploit it. The years leading up to and immediately following the 1925 agreement were fraught with disputes between Government, the Company, and local landowners. The Company was accused of delaying its completion of the work on the grounds of transgressions by the local landowners, and also of harming fertility by burning to clear the land. The company, on the other hand, accused the Government of failure to act against the

47. Organismos Kopaidas, *E Kopais se heria ellinika* (Haliartos 1958) and *Short Review of the History and Work of the Lake Kopais Company Ltd.* (Athens 1951).

48. *Ibid.*

politically influential landowners. Neither side chose to pay any attention, however, to the hundreds of cultivators of nearby villages who, long before the arrival of the Company, had every year come down to the outer limits of the Lake to work the land during the dry months. They now saw this land claimed by the Company, then leased back to them at ever-increasing rents. The 1925 Agreement did nothing to protect their rights, and was highly favourable to the Company. At the time, the Greek Government needed urgently to negotiate in London the large loan required to handle the 1922 Asia Minor refugee problem.⁴⁹

The Kopais question exploded in the Autumn of 1930, sparked by the Company's decision to impose new terms on the cultivators who had leases on their land. The peasants rejected the terms, and answered with a strike, refusing to plough and sow. In retaliation, the Company attempted to recruit other cultivators.⁵⁰

In a series of demonstrations and violent clashes, many peasants and police were injured and one guard was killed. The strike was broken, but a settlement was reached only through the intervention of Prime Minister Venizelos, who decreed lower rents and a small government subsidy. The Company, on the other hand, was granted licence to import new agricultural machinery free of duty. There is no doubt that both Company and Government representatives saw this solution as a temporary paying-off of the concessionary cultivators, while the Company equipped itself as soon as possible to exploit the area as a large-scale estate enterprise, heavily mechanised. It is extremely difficult to estimate accurately the number of peasant families involved in farming on Kopais at the time, but it was at least 6,000, from 30 villages, and may well have been more than twice that figure. It is interesting that in 1931 P. Kanaginis, of the Ministry of Agriculture, argued, against the 'mechanisation' plan, that retention of peasant cultivation on the basis of a national and controlled plan of crop rotation was what was required. In effect it is Kanaginis's solution which is now operative. The Company certainly implemented its strategy, annually expanding the force of agricultural wage-labourers in extensive cultivation, until the beginning of World War II.⁵¹

49. A.P. Sideris, *E georgiki politiki tis Ellados kata tin lixasan ek tondaetian, 1833-1933* (Athens 1934) 349-351.

50. *Ibid.*, 351.

51. P. Kanaginis, *To Kopaidikon Zitima* (Athens 1929).

The following graphic account of the 1930 peasant action is from a retired man in Mavrommati:

'Land rent increased from approximately 10% to 40% in 1930. Amongst us there were 5-10 'tchiftlik' owners with land up to 3,000 str. After the initiative of Dr. Alexopoulos, president of Mavrommati, and a final agreement with the other villages, we went on strike in October 1930, seed time.

Forty villages demonstrated against the increase of rent (*geomoro*). Every morning, on horseback and carrying black flags, the peasants would descend to Kopais to occupy the land until 9 p.m. Thus seeding was impossible. The strike lasted for one month despite the common front of the Company and big landowners against us. It was only under the pressure of Marrantos (one of the big landowners) that his village, Agios Demetrios, pulled out of the strike and the whole trouble started, resulting in one killed and many injured after the police attack.

Consequently the Government reduced rents to approximately 20%. The peasants, 10,000 of them, were only asking for a piece of bread; such was the exploitation then. The English Company imported tractors and other machinery, after 1931, and introduced its own cultivation, employing wage-labour from the nearby villages . . .'

The Lake Kopais Company complained that not only did it suffer from the Italian-German occupation, from 1939 to 1944, but that the ELAS forces who occupied the area from October 1944 to January 1945 'wantonly destroyed or looted' Company property and cut down 150,000 trees for timber. In 1948 they destroyed the hydro-electric generating station at the Karditsa tunnel outlet.⁵²

By 1951, the Company was letting 146,000 str. to some 4,400 tenant families from 55 villages. Several hundred employees of the Company (maintenance workers etc.) were supplied by the same villages. 48,000 str. was farmed by the Company itself. A remaining 6,000 str. was let to 'larger cultivators' in the area. The Company published the following production figures for 1950: 20,000 tons of grain (primarily wheat), 6,000 tons of seed cotton, 1,000 tons of pulses; grazing on Company property: 3,000 cattle, 5,000 horses and mules, 30,000 turkeys; total value of production, about 85 billion drachmas (£2 million).⁵³

The Company strongly opposed legislation to distribute the territory, arguing that the landless and very poor cultivators who would be recipients constituted a 'class of peasantry . . . more productively employed as farm labourers'. They contended fur-

52. Letter of the Kopais Company to the kinotis of Mavrommati saying that it would not pay cultivation tax for 1946 (21.11.50). In the same letter, settlement of payments for 1947, 1948 and 1949 is agreed (cf. files of Kopais Company, Haliartos).

53. Organismos Kopaidos, *op. cit.*, note 47 above.

ther that it was recognition of the need for centralised ownership and control which explained the failure of the 'Kopais tenantry' to take up the options offered in the 1925 agreement.⁵⁴

The 1922 influx of well over one million refugees from Asia Minor had, of course, been the major factor in necessitating completion of the distribution of land from large estates, including those of the Church. Our survey area was not itself affected by the settlement of refugees, but immediately to the north east of Thebes (Platanaki) hundreds of refugees were settled, and large Church holdings were confiscated in 1928. The depression of the 1930's had severe effects on Greek peasants, especially where they cultivated commercial crops like cotton and tobacco (between 1929 and 1931 cotton prices on the world market were more than halved, for example).⁵⁵

Throughout the inter-war period, cultivation was little changed from traditional methods. The first tractors were introduced (three diesel tractors) into the eparchy of Thebes in 1930. 1500 str. were ploughed with a three-blade plough, .15cm. deep, 3,500 str. with a two-blade plough, .22 cm. deep, and 50 str. with a one-blade plough, .43 cm. deep. Further mechanisation before World War II was insignificant. Olive trees remained a vital part of the local economy. In 1933 Palio-Panagia had 58,950 trees, Thespieae 68,850, and Mavrommati 38,350.⁵⁶

The period of World War II and the Civil War which followed it is remembered in the area (as universally in Greece) as one of dire poverty, to the point of near-starvation for the poorest people. In 1949 some 50% of families in our survey-area had virtually no land apart from olives, and it is known that 345 cultivators of olives in Mavrommati had a total production of 50,878 *okas*. Of the 340 landowning cultivators listed for that year, 224 had no land on Kopais, and 37 had land only on Kopais. The situation concerning rented land is not clear. From 1953 to 1957 the distribution of the expropriated Kopais land took place, an event of the utmost significance for the life of those villages where cultivators received land.⁵⁷ The point is not a complex one:

54. *Ibid.*

55. P. Hiotis, *Peri tis kriseos tou hambakos kai ton lipton metron* (Piraeus 1931) art II, pp. 14-23.

56. Papaleontiou, *op. cit.*, 45.

57. Kopais Organisation, *Original Kopais Land Distribution List* (Mavrommati n.d.) (See note 6 above).

thousands of peasant families faced with poverty, emigration and the impossibility of viable farming, were to find it possible to perpetuate their existence as peasants. The distribution did not abolish poverty, and it did not prevent migration, but it played a large role in relatively stabilising the existence of some 12,000 peasant families.

Following the necessary legislation in 1953, an agreement was reached for a total of 226,086.378 str. of land to be sold to the Greek state. Cultivable land of 174,231 str. plus 16,435 str. of land occupied by bridges, roads etc., was inside the Kopais plain, the remainder outside it. According to the law on distribution, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Executive of the newly formed Kopais organisation had to classify the land into categories. The categories would be determined by the position, productivity, and possibility of irrigation, thus defining the necessary minimum allotment for a subsistence standard of living.⁵⁸

The peasants had the right to appeal within 20 days but the final decision remained with the Minister of Agriculture. By the same law the land of the Kopais plain, apart from 3,000 str. (withheld for research purposes by the organisation) would be divided in half between the landless or small-owning peasants of the land adjoining the plain, from neighbouring or even more remote villages, and the existing tenants. In the first category preference was given to war victims and invalids who did not get a pension or any other compensation. In the second category there were complex rules to take into account the length of time tenants had cultivated the land, and other factors. By 1957 the distribution of land to 40 villages had been completed and '... 12,000 peasant families with 62,500 members now have their own land ... The peasants, instead of paying one third of their production to the English Company for renting the land, are paying fifteen per cent of their production for the maintenance and development of new projects'.⁵⁹

582 heads of families in Mavrommati received allotments of between one and thirty-five stremmata, totalling 9,550 str. in 1069 parcels.⁶⁰

58. *Ephimeris tis kuberniseos tou vassiliou tis Ellados*, Nos. 195 (31.7.53), 232 and 291 (27.9.1953).

59. Organismos Kopaidos, *op. cit.*, note 47 above.

60. Kopais Organisation, *Original Kopais Land Distribution List* (Mavrommati n.d.).

Initially the land was to be given to the landless cultivators of the adjoining or nearby villages. There are many local people who claim, however, that for various reasons land was awarded to people with no legitimate claim and to villages which had nothing to do with Kopais (Kyriaki, Elikon, Koukoura etc.). Despite the fact that there had been a proposal by somebody called Kypriadis for non-fragmented allotments of 50 str., this was ignored, according to many informants, in favour of a distribution more suited to the politics of 'clientistic' influence and control. In every village, stories abound alleging the inequity of the distribution and the manipulation of the proceedings. These stories concern the use of influence by well-off families to obtain land on Kopais, and assert that landless families were deprived of an allotment by the device of confusing them on the qualifications required of applicants. In one village a simple decision was taken, contrary to the law, to allocate some Kopais land to everyone in the village.⁶¹

In at least one other village, those responsible for placing the distributed land in categories are said to have actually placed the land in reverse order of fertility, favourable position, etc., so that some received larger portions of better land as their *kliros*.⁶² The number of these anecdotes and the near-unanimity of their direction is impressive, but the subject of the initial distribution clearly requires more research. To this date, our efforts to obtain the depositions of applicants have proved unsuccessful, and the number of false tracks along which we have been sent has no doubt its own significance. These depositions would, of course, be invaluable as an indication of the numbers of landless and near-landless cultivators — the categories which do not appear in statistics of peasant ownership.

Social Structure: General

The population of Greece has doubled in 50 years (five million in 1920, just under ten million in 1981). The refugees from Asia Minor who swelled the population after the defeat of 1922 are offset by and large by the 1,100,000 who emigrated in the years 1958-70. By European standards, Greece is economically backward — in 1976, per capita G.N.P. in Greece was \$2,600.

61. Interviews with local officials, 1982.

62. Interviews with local officials and cultivators, August 1982.

Table III — Distribution of Lake Kopais Land, By Community

I Demos/ Kinotis	II No. of Persons	III Stremmata Originally Distributed	IV Stremmata Added 1959	V Total
1. Akoutio	46	429		429
2. Agia Triada	392	5366	48	5414
3. Agios Spiriodomas	112	1342	48	1390
4. Agios Giorgios	455	4746	221	4967
5. Aliartos	436	5831	109	5941
6. Agios Dimitrios	475	7344	10	7355
7. Alalkomene	130	1786	5	1791
8. Prosiho	21	241	9	250
9. Iphigantis	207	3417	22	3439
10. Evaggelistria	112	1635	6	1641
11. Elikonas	417	3639	39	3679
12. Hurio	40	110	—	110
13. Karua	221	3603	44	3647
14. Koronia	252	3309	26	3335
15. Koukoura	156	1247	5	1252
16. Kyriaki	489	3120	52	3171
17. Ievadia	109	1445	9	1453
18. Iaphistio	178	2015	32	2048
19. Iouts	114	1506	16	1522
20. Mazi	272	3153	84	3237
21. Orchomenos	1614	21434	85	21519
22. Paulo	593	8957	252	9209
23. Petra	153	2321	23	2344
24. Porgos	185	2508	48	2556
25. Romeiko	96	1200	18	1219
26. Sourpi	183	1249	32	1280
27. Solinari	136	1782	69	1851
28. Akrephnion	325	7833	444	8277
29. Baga	636	9081	118	9199
30. Thespiac	411	5780	100	5880
31. Kastro	250	5872	439	6312
32. Kokkino	264	7194	60	7255
33. Ieontari	253	3289	72	3361
34. Neochari	164	1823	32	1856
35. Mavrommati	579	9520	247	9766
36. Panagia	367	3517	80	3597
37. Kolaka	170	2767	35	2802
38. Malessina	1035	1438	*1292	*2730
39. Maskino	586	8058	1165	8223
40. Iarymna	179	3212	485	3696
	(12813)	(183000)		

less than half the EEC countries' average of \$5,400. About one quarter of the population live in rural areas, as against 35 per cent in 1971. One hundred years ago this figure was 82 per cent. The contribution of agriculture (in value terms) to the Gross National Product fell from 28 per cent in 1950 to 14 per cent in 1977.

The villages of Mavrommati, Bagia, Panagia and Xironomi give us a typical range for Boeotia, before the mechanisation of recent decades and before the Kopais distribution. There is a considerable degree of coincidence between ownership of land in the village and residence and/or father's residence in that village.⁶³

It is clear that to a great extent, village families cohere in the same village community by the fact of ownership and control of land. Bagia and Mavrommati are decidedly more cohesive than Xironomi and Panagia. Moreover, for Bagia and Mavrommati, absentee ownership is often a case of a man now working and living in Athens, keeping his land, or of a son having moved to, say, Thespieae, on marriage and keeping the land in his village of birth.

It would be a mistake to interpret this picture unhistorically, that is, as the very strong persistence of something called a 'traditional' order, now under erosion at the hands of industrialisation and pressure of market and credit, etc. Our enquiries among older people confirm what the travellers' accounts and other historical evidence suggest, viz., that the present family-owners of these farms are not the latest of a long line of holders in these villages. Just over one hundred years ago — the limit of what our oldest interviewees recall of their family histories — it was not the case that a man was a landowner in a village territory by virtue of connection with that village as citizen or community member. Given the fact that there is no endogamy (as there is, say, in many Romanian villages), this would be impossible in view of the universal system of *proika* gifts of land. Furthermore, there is hardly any selling of land. Is this a survival of some age-old attachment to community land? On the contrary: in the past there was much more selling as a consequence of indebtedness, poverty, sickness and heavy spending for doctors. 'People sold land in order to have food to eat. They sold land sometimes to pay for

63. Data taken from the Rural Guard (Cadastral Records) Registry of 1955-56, Thebes (see note 3 above).

Table IV

Total <i>Panagia</i> cultivated area	7,835
of which	1,028 str. owned by strangers (13.1 per cent)
Total <i>Bagia</i> cultivated area	37,335 str.
of which	1,998 str. owned by strangers (6 per cent)
Total <i>Xironomi</i> cultivated area	6,891 str.
of which	2,274 str. owned by strangers (30.7 per cent)
(in the case of Xironomi there are a large number of absentee owners — 551, i.e. 56 per cent of all owners — because of desertion, and new profitable crops in a village where tree-cultivation predominates).	
Total <i>Mavrommati</i> cultivated area	10,527 str.
of which	426 str. owned by strangers (4 per cent)

doctors to save their children or their parents.' Thus modern sources of income (other occupations, emigration), medical insurance, and land distribution for political reasons, have *increased* attachment to land. Provisionally and generally, these matters might have some relevance for the Boeotia Survey as a whole. We need the soundest possible foundation for 'pushing the record back', and ethnography often corrects the mistakes of an over-formal historical-statistical account. Peasant agriculture is well known to have been capable of surviving in connection with a very wide variety of types of economic and political structures — this is to say that the surplus product of peasants has been and is appropriated in many different ways, which do not by any means always disrupt the family-farm economy; and that the state and class relations standing above and outside the mass of peasant householders are related to, or affect, peasant agriculture and its development in many different ways. The scope and limits of this range of relationships between peasant communities and wider economic and political changes can perhaps be illuminated by the kind of study we are making.

We have combined the traditional social-anthropological interviews with collection of documentary material. The first real basis for this combination was the discovery, in our first year, of the 1955 record of land-holding and land used by every cultivator in 19 villages in the area in which we are working, some 40% of which we have laboriously copied. Two seasons were devoted to tracing the actual historical course of a stratified sample of these properties and families between 1955 and 1980, a total of 160 individuals from the 1955 record. (See the tables in 'Social Structure: preliminary findings on developments in landholding between 1955 and 1980' below).

One feature which emerges, as one might expect from the above, is that social stratification (by wealth) in the village is less a matter of descent from traditionally better-off families than of recent differentiation. Our data for 1950-80 shows considerable fragmentation of larger-than-average holdings through inheritance (despite the existence of types of arrangement which work against such division, e.g. one son's obtaining the money for a university education instead of his share of land, or a daughter's being bought a house on marriage instead of taking her share of the land as *proika* or as inheritance). Further analysis is needed for any firm conclusion that there is not a simple predominance of traditionally well-off families. These families often still exist, but our data leaves no doubt that the great majority of those who have been able to expand their cultivations or to become richer in some other way have done so in the last two decades.

Among the better-off men in the area are the owners of two large herds of goats and sheep, one in Hylike-Paralimni and the other at Mazaraki. They market several types of commodity, and the Mazaraki man (living in Bagia) has bought 200 stremmata from his earnings as shepherd. This kind of story is not uncommon. Evidence of this kind must be added to that concerning the emerging distinctions of wealth in farming, consequent upon a certain capital-accumulation in the last 20 years.

A note is in order here about the attitudes of peasants towards larger-than-average accumulations of land. Here we enter an area where statistics alone might mislead, and where the kind of material collected by anthropologists can help to prevent our drawing wrong conclusions through taking values for granted in some way.

'Fragmentation' of holdings refers to the fact that one man's land is in scattered plots. Typically, a holding of 30-50 stremmata will consist of five or even ten pieces of different size in randomly-spread parts of the village land. This fragmentation is closely related, of course, to the sub-division of a man's land between his children, who inherit equally. Informants, at any rate, are quite convinced that partible inheritance and *proika* are a full explanation of both fragmentation and smallness of total holdings, and they give countless examples. They agree that in most if not all cases it would be better for a man to get accretions of land immediately adjoining his existing plots. But at this point in such discussions there is always immediate and heartfelt agreement on a new factor: 'But they don't like to see anybody getting on.' In other words, they believe that peasants would go out of their way to prevent any rationalisation along the lines of concentration of holdings. The same explanation is indeed given to the failure, some years ago, of a project to carry out such concentration in Bagia. How should we interpret this attitude? Rather than some traditional community-egalitarian feeling against any growth of individual wealth and differentiation we seem to have, on the contrary, individual envy and hostility to others. The parallel here is not, predominantly, with disintegrating village-communal modes being broken up by the effect of the market, but with the Italian South, as shown in many studies. There, the centuries-long (even millenia-long) history of grinding poverty, insecurity, unfulfilled promises, over-taxation, failure of central government authority, and so on, produced an individualism at the level of a competitive struggle for mere existence which responded to the possibilities of emigration and then of 'the consumer society' in a predictable manner. Writers on Greek culture have often concentrated on the so-called '*filotimo*' (honour). Whatever the outward manifestations of the latter 'value', there is certainly a noticeable '*fthonos*' (envy) in the approach of individuals, a hostility to the success of others. Whether this is a 'peasant' phenomenon we do not know.

Another aspect of landholding which is difficult to understand without the kind of knowledge rendered by social-anthropological field work is the absence of any really large farms in the area. About fifty acres is the very largest, and is highly exceptional. One aspect of this is explained by informants on the grounds that

200 str. is the upper limit of size of enterprise within which the farmer can attend properly to work, and to which a certain amount of supervision, personally, given modern methods of transport and mechanised farming, can be devoted. To be profitable in present conditions close supervision and control of all operations are necessary. Some who had larger holdings have sold, in some cases to meet family commitments, but in others because they preferred to put their capital into other types of business. The implications are obvious: at present prices and at the present levels of efficiency and availability of labour and management, farming is profitable only within certain limits of size. Other areas of investment produce better returns. Agriculture, despite differentiation, remains an area of petty-commodity rather than capitalist production.

Perhaps there are some points of general importance here. The influential Vergopoulos has tried to show that small-scale peasant agriculture in Greece, far from being an obstacle to the development of capitalism, is the most convenient social framework for agriculture, from the capitalist system's standpoint, in that it permits capital to expropriate the peasant's surplus product through loan-interest and government pricing policy.⁶⁴ Our material suggests that Vergopoulos' interpretation is inadequate. It leaves out of account the grave limitations placed on the development of farming by this method of control and exploitation. Rather than receiving any great stimulus from the credit and industrial resources made available through Agricultural Bank credits, agricultural exploitation takes the form of small farmers with access to certain chemical and mechanical aids (especially tractors). These aids actually make possible the perpetuation of very small-scale farms with a minimum of labour. Given conditions of high emigration plus alternative employment — as has tended to be the case in the last two decades — then farming becomes limited in scope of development to the old family type, small in scale, not needing to do more than supply part of the family's subsistence. Such is the actual position for the majority of peasants. There is a minority of others who do accumulate but again only up to the limits we have indicated.

64. K. Vergopoulos, *Ethnismos kai ekonomiki anaptiki* (Athens 1978); and, *To agrotiko zitiina stin Ellada* (Athens 1975).

A further point of interest is that mechanisation has enabled the Bagia peasants, for example, to bring into cultivation 10,000 stremmata which could not be cultivated with animals. Because of the spread of tractors there does not arise any need for the growth of a new class of hired labourers. All that is needed is day-labour on certain days of the year on farms of the prevailing size and type. This was equally the case, with this size of farm, before mechanisation. The large estate farm able to utilise efficiently modern mechanisation is currently not a possibility. There is no obvious way in which the small owner could be removed from his land, or in which a class of agricultural labourers could be created. When hired labour is required (June to October) a few villagers from farther west do come in hired transport to Bagia and other wheat-growing areas to work, but this work is more and more done by gypsies. Many peasant families still carry out harvesting with the family plus one or two relatives or hired men. One Mavrommati family of nine people, for example, in August 1981, harvested seven tons of tomatoes in two days, and in total 100 tons. Before modern transport and roads, hired harvest-hands would stay in peasants' houses, men and women, for weeks at a time, for subsistence and daily wages. One family history exemplifies the ways in which farming today is related to other social and economic developments. A Bagia informant (Antoniadis) had a grandfather with 500 stremmata of farmland. The present Antoniadis *kliros* (plot, share) is 40-50 stremmata, as a result of inheritance-distributions between brothers and sons. Of these ten land-holders, eight live still in Bagia and two in Thebes. All use the land to grow and sell 'early' crops, but spend most of the year in other occupations. They are still regarded as an important family 'by tradition', in Bagia, say informants, but, 'the factories have changed many things: the peasant can tell the big man to get lost. And so their importance is just traditional and they have no economic power.'

These remarks should be considered in conjunction with the point made already, that the general distribution of the fertile land of the drained basin of Lake Kopais after 1956 in these villages has also strengthened greatly the possibility of men maintaining their existence as farmers, given of course the supplementary sources of income in many cases.

This is a convenient point at which to illustrate the kind of material produced by interviews about earlier generations. We asked how the Antoniadis family (above) and similar families (e.g. Loukas) came to accumulate their larger holdings:

From buying up the land of people with 10 stremmata or less, and, especially, by lending money and taking the land when they couldn't pay. Especially those returning from the U.S.A. were able to do this.

This process, it appears, stopped after World War II. Examples given included: 'Vagelis's father borrowed 5,000 dr. in 1938; he lost the land and ended up owing 50,000 during World War II — hunger and poverty were so extreme that people gave a stremma of land for 5 kilos of oil, and this land is still held by those who took it.'

Another family (Papas) is relatively rich, in Bagia.

All (5) Papas family heads have large holdings, at least 200 stremmata, and one has over 400. The grandfather had 2,000 (but 400 today is better than 2,000 then). Only those with over 200 stremmata and owning their own machinery can avoid going to the factory. This applies in Bagia where there are few irrigated crops and it costs a lot to get down to the water-table — in contrast to neighbouring Piri. None of the Papas men work in factories, but with one exception, still live in Bagia. Their land is the best land as well as in the biggest farms.

Another factor which emerges here is the changing pattern of marriage. A family like Papas would in the past put its daughters into arranged marriages. Today only a tiny proportion of all marriages are arranged and it is not uncommon for children to marry sons and daughters of poorer or richer families. There was in 1981, for example, a sudden rush of elopements, amounting to blackmail of non-consenting parents. In such cases there is usually reconciliation, but then *proika* becomes a matter for fathers to decide, and equal shares by right is forfeited. It may be — it is too early to say — that this tendency will reduce fragmentation, but as a result of all these developments, there is a slow reduction in the number of the smallest farms.

Nationally, in the period 1961-77:

- (a) 2.2. million stremmata went out of cultivation (mostly from marginal land in the mountainous areas, especially in Peloponnese);
- (b) holdings of up to 29 stremmata declined from 61% to 59%

- of the total number, and their share of the cultivated area dropped from 25% to 21%;
- (c) holdings of 100-199 stremmata increased from 3.4% to 5% of the total number; the area covered by them increased from 5m to 6.2m. stremmata;
- (d) holdings of over 500 stremmata have doubled in number (from 7,000 to 15,000) and their share of the total cultivated land has also doubled.

These figures are not consistent with those for our area, however, where there are no large wheat farms of the type found in Thessaly.

Furthermore, the Kopais distribution has strengthened the smaller farmers. There are, however, other ways in which a certain differentiation takes place, among the most important of these being the ability to control the water supply, to buy and hire out machinery, and to rent land on a large scale. A typical example is that of two Mavrommati brothers who own only fifteen stremmata plus ten str. on Kopais. But they rent and cultivate another 200 str., own a butchers' and cafe business, and keep some sheep and twenty pigs.

Social Structure: Preliminary findings on developments in land-holding between 1955 and 1980

Taking a stratified sample of 160 landholdings from 1956 documents (including land distributed from Kopais) we traced the developments of these to 1980.⁶⁵ The findings tabulated below indicate the processes lying behind the statistics of changes in the pattern of farm-holdings in Greece. They also allow us to incorporate the effects of land distribution from the drained Lake Kopais.

(Note: where 'average size of holding' is given below, it is an average of the holdings in the sample, and so will diverge from a true average).

Little comment is required here. What is important is the clear indication of occupational and community structure changes which are concealed by statistics giving only numbers of holdings of different size-category, for the latter tend to provide the basis for the majority of recent studies of peasant farming and social

65. See note 63 above, and note.

Table V

Village	No. of holdings in sample 1956	No. of holdings on same land, 1980	% change
Leontari	21	36	+ 71%
Neochoroi	17	25	+ 47%
Mavrommati	20	34	+ 70%
TOTAL	58	95	+ 63%

Table VI

Village	1956 Average size of holding	1980 Average size of holding	% change
Leontari	69.4 str.	38.0 str.	43%
Neochoroi	40.0 str.	27.2 str.	32%
Mavrommati	57.4 str.	34.3 str.	- 41%
TOTAL	56.66 str.	31.2 str.	- 45%

Table VII — Holdings worked (a) by peasants, &
(b) by those with non-agricultural primary occupations
(‘non-peasants’)

Village	1956		1980	
	Peasants	Non Peasants	Peasants	Non Peasants
Leontari	20	1	20	20
Neochoroi	14	3	11	10
Mavrommati	19	1	12	17
TOTAL	53	5	43	47

differentiation in Greece. There seems to be no doubt that the average-sized and smaller holdings have declined in area. However, the greater *number* of small holdings does not mean that the social stratum of small peasants is increasing in number. On the contrary, in this area at least, it is decreasing. The greater number of holdings, produced by inheritance customs and the absence of sale of land, is accounted for by a shift from agricultural to industrial and service occupations by men who retain their land. The resultant pattern requires further investigation. In many cases it is a matter of men remaining in the locality but spending most of their time in a new occupation. Sometimes they work their own land, sometimes other members of their nuclear family bear the brunt of the farm labour. Sometimes a brother will carry out the cultivation and share the proceeds. Sometimes the land is rented. In other cases men move to Athens or to another city, or abroad, yet retain the land and either rent it or have a relative cultivate it for a share of the crop. There is even a tendency here as in other parts of Greece for town-dwellers to seek a return to their village of origin, buy a house and work a piece of land. The pattern of these variations is different from village to village, but in every village will be found representatives of each of these variants.

Of the original 59 holdings, 8 had been enlarged by 1981, 21 remained the same size, and 29 had been either reduced by sale or *proika* or had been subdivided into smaller holdings at inheritance. Of those which had not been reduced in size, it was only a matter of time before they would be sub-divided, with possibly two or three exceptions (three of those remaining the same were small pieces of 10 str. or less held by residents of other villages or towns). The following examples from the villages of Mavrommati and Leontari give a sense of the overall picture, and do represent correctly the tendency for some larger holdings to be more stable.

Mavrommati in 1981 was a community of 524 families, cultivating just over 22,000 stremmata of land, with wheat and olives predominating. This land consisted entirely of holdings of peasant families. Only 1,244 stremmata were rented, and this in small portions. Mavrommati farmers owned 132 tractors, of which 116 were of over eighteen horse-power. There were eight combine harvesters.

Table VIII — Changes in Land Ownership
(A Sample) 1955-1980

(a) Mavrommati

	A	B	C	D	C
No. 1	4.5	18	18	Not known	
No. 2	2	19	20	10 str. sold. Arable land rented out. Olives kept	35 5
No. 3	8.5	17	17	17 str. on Kopais sold, 8 str. cultivated by a relative	50
No. 4	10	30	6.5	Enlarged by a purchase of 30 str.	69
No. 5	12	18	22.5	Enlarged by a purchase of 25 str.	85
No. 6	12	—	—	Enlarged by a purchase of 20 str. and a dowry of 15 on Kopais	41
No. 7	11	17	22.5	Divided into 4 (one of which is dowry)	46
No. 8	17.5	20 +	22	Divided into 6	36
No. 9	19	17.5	17.5	14 str. sold, 10 given as dowry	31
No. 10	22	—	17.5	Remains the same	36
No. 11	40	18	23	10 str. on Kopais given as dowry	48
No. 12	30	10	8	Remains the same	62
No. 13	32	18	25	Some rented out (confused situation)	128
No. 14	41	20	10	Enlarged by a purchase of 30 str. of olives	70
No. 15	55	30	19.5	Enlarged by a dowry of 15 str. (and some of the original 30 str. on Kopais was dowry earlier)	60
No. 16	65	17	17	20 str. sold	45?
No. 17	77	14	9.5	20 str. given as dowry	130
No. 18	100	20	12.5	Remains the same	84
No. 19	100	—	17	Remains the same	47?
No. 20	100	40	13	Sharing with nephew, who will inherit, there being no sons.	74
No. 21	80 +	10	11	Being divided (1981) into two	160

A = Land owned in 1955 before the Distribution of Kopais
B = Land distributed on Kopais (unofficial figures).
C = Land distributed on Kopais (official Distribution List).
D = 1980 position (given by the Rural Guards).
E = Land entered in the 1981 Census of Agriculture and
Livestock (includes land owned by the sons of the 21 families
studied. There was no information on dowries).

Sources:

1. Rural Guard Force 'Registry of 1955-56', Thebes.
2. Interviews with the Rural Guards in Mavrommati, 1980-81.
3. E.S.Y.E., 'Census of Agriculture and Livestock of year 1981',
Mavrommati (unpublished data).

Table IX — Leontari

	1956 holding	1980 position
No. 1	4 str. plus 18 str. in Kopais	9 str. on Kopais remains & is shared by 6, though cultivated by one. Two <i>proika</i> gifts of 4½ str. and 9 str. have been given.
No. 2	47 str.	Remains the same.
No. 3	90 str.	Now divided into 3 <i>proika</i> (two of these being added to existing farms).
No. 4	9 str.	Remains the same (owned in Leuktra).
No. 5	31 str. plus 10 str. on Kopais	<i>Proika</i> of 10 str. given (i.e. now 21 + 10).
No. 6	11 str. plus 15 str. on Kopais	Enlarged by 4 str.
No. 7	23 str.	Remains the same.
No. 8	5 str. plus 15 str. on Kopais	Enlarged by 25 str. <i>proika</i> .
No. 9	33 str. plus 15 str. on Kopais	Remains the same.
No. 10	15 str.	Remains the same (owned in Leuktra)
No. 11	10 str.	Remains the same.
No. 12	56 str.	Divided into 6 holdings* of 9 str. each.
No. 13	6 str.	Divided into 2 holdings of 3 str. each.
No. 14	20 str. plus 30 (plus 10 in Thespieae)	Remains the same.
No. 15	66 str. plus 10 str. on Kopais	Divided into 3, 2 of 35 str. each, plus one of 7.
No. 16	20 str.	Remains the same (owned in Leuktra).
No. 17	400 str.	Divided into two of 150 str. & three (<i>proika</i>) of 33.
No. 18	140 str.	Divided into three of 50; but all have left, and rent the land out.
No. 19	138 str.	Reduced by 20 str. (<i>proika</i>)
No. 20	102 str.	Remains the same (money given in <i>proika</i>)
No. 21	118 str.	Remains the same.

Despite the many changes to which we have referred — in particular the recent mechanisation of agriculture and contemporary regional industrialisation — the pattern of small-scale farm ownership remains apparently unaffected. Paradoxically, the changes of the last generation have — at least for the time being — reinforced the conservation of this structure of ownership, in that we can list a series of factors which militate against any break in it.

1. The Kopais distribution of the 1950s opened the possibility of many small cultivators remaining in agriculture.
2. The massive migration of the 1953-1970 period had as a consequence the remittance of significant sums of money to peasant families.
3. Factories built in the Thebes area (in effect, the most economical location for industrial investors, given the Government's policy of encouraging investment outside Attica) offered employment to men and women in the villages, thus bringing supplementation of farm incomes on family farms which might otherwise have become unviable.
4. The credit policies of successive governments have permitted mechanisation of a type which permits many peasants to complete their farm work in a small number of days, and to take other employment.
5. The prolonged boom of the 1950s-60s and early 70s meant that several of the above factors worked uninterruptedly, and that peasants growing cash crops were not subjected to disastrous price movements such as the pre-war trends in cotton and tobacco.
6. All the above, taken together, removed pressure to sell the land.
7. The labour shortage in the countryside, and the absence of any tradition of estate and farm management and wage labour, appear to inhibit any tendency to buy up land beyond a certain level. Concentration of capital and social differentiation have therefore tended to take other forms (investment of capital outside agriculture, usually in real estate; ownership of expensive machinery; control of water supply, etc.)
8. The tendency (for all kinds of reasons connected with the 'modernisation' process) for family size to be reduced may

also tend to stabilise landholding by reducing the effects of partible inheritance.

However, this complex of factors combining to perpetuate small proprietorship is at the same time related to another differentiation within the stratum of peasant and semi-peasant proprietors. Many very small and even landless peasants profited from the Kopais distribution. In the subsequent twenty years they were drawn, in varying degrees, into the national and international market and all the associated changes in patterns of consumption, education and so on. Only the bigger farmers were able to accumulate sufficient for real capitalisation in agriculture, so that behind the picture of a mass of small farmers owning tractors bought on Agricultural Bank loans is an emergent group of owners of expensive machinery and the wherewithal to rent land and hire labour. More and more poorer farmers, however, sold or rented out part of their land and joined the 'two-job' sector.

Table X — Place of origin of wives of Mavrommati males settling in Mavrommati

	Wife from outside Bocotia		Wife from elsewhere in Bocotia		Wife from Mavrommati		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Marriages							
Before 1900	1	1.75	2	3.5	54	95.75	57
1900-1909	1	1.53	4	6.15	60	92.3	65
1910-1919	0	—	4	5.8	63	94.2	67
1920-1929	4	3.4	1	.85	113	95.8	118
1930-1939	3	2.73	10	9.1	97	88.2	110
1940-1949	8	8.9	4	4.4	78	86.7	90
1950-1959	5	3.3	15	9.8	131	85.6	151
1960-1969	46	26.9	43	25.1	82	48.0	138
1970-1979	45	32.6	34	24.6	59	42.8	138
1980-1982	13	44.8	4	13.8	12	41.4	29

Indications are that in the early 1980's only some 40 per cent of wives will be from Mavrommati families. Furthermore, the greatest increase is in the number of wives coming from outside the region, rather than from other villages in Bocotia itself. Until 1960, these trends were only extremely gradual (the popula-

tion of wives from Mavrommati declines from some 95 per cent to 85 per cent). It is the onset of mechanisation and mass emigration and all the associated changes, that produce the rapidity of the subsequent trends.

It is not, however, merely a question of the general effects of migration and improved communication, as the following breakdown shows.

Table XI — Women marrying into Mavrommati

	From other Boeotian communities	From other Greek rural areas	From elsewhere	TOTAL
1960	43	30	16	(89)
1970-79	36	37	13	(96)
TOTAL	79	67	29	

The most interesting figure here is that for women marrying into Mavrommati from other areas (those around Karditsa and Trikkala primarily). Much has been written about Greek rural-urban migration and foreign emigration. Without doubt, too, there would have been a shortage of women of marriageable age in Mavrommati, as a result of the migration, especially to Athens, of girls from Mavrommati families. In the less fertile, semi-mountainous areas such as Evritania from which the 'new' wives came, there was a surplus of young women created by male emigration at a higher rate than in the more favoured Boeotian plain. The women concerned worked as temporary labourers in the olive harvest in Mavrommati and from this developed a pattern of marriages of Mavrommati men to women of the areas supplying labour.

One note needs to be added to these figures on patterns of marriage and residence. An insignificant number of families registered in Mavrommati show the head of the family as a man marrying into the village.

Table XII — Men marrying women from Mavrommati and settling there

Date	From Boeotia communities	From elsewhere
pre-1899	1	1
1900-1909	0	1
1910-1919	2	0
1920-1929	5	0
1930-1939	2	1
1940-1949	2	1
1950-1959	3	4
1960-1969	5	2
1970-1979	1	0
1980-1982	1	2
TOTAL	22	12

Only two families are registered this century with both husband and wife born outside Mavrommati.

Recent Developments in Agriculture

The general picture of cultivations in one village, Mavrommati, is shown in the tables in the Appendix at the end of this paper. These show clearly the changes in proportions of different crops. Here we concentrate only on the factors for social differentiation.

Agricultural Machinery

The mechanisation of agriculture in Boeotia, as in Greece generally, is essentially a phenomenon of the last two decades. An earlier stage of mechanisation had started in the early 1930s when the English Kopais Company introduced tractors, combine harvesters, fertilizers, etc. There were in the whole of the Thebes region only 3 diesel tractors. But this picture changed drastically from the 1950s onwards.

As Table XVIII indicates, in 1953 there were 451 large animals in Mavrommati directly or indirectly used in agriculture. For the same year there is no indication that any tractors existed in the village. In the early 1960's mechanisation began (Table XIX). Thus 13 tractors were owned in 1963, one combine harvester, 10 pumps

and two sprinkler units. In the same year there were 340 large animals (mainly horses and mules) and 150 asses. By 1980 there were 110 tractors owned (only one of which was under 18 HP) and only 100 large animals. At the same time there were 200 pick-up cars which played a vital role in meeting auxilliary transport needs.

The first sharp increase in tractors up to 1968 had several causes. First, as a result of migration there was a shortage of labour to work the land. Second, the general development of the economy produced the economic, technical and social basis for a possible mechanisation in so far as it created the environment of national and world markets and forced the peasant into a search for low costs. Higher productivity amongst cultivators had the same effect. Moreover, two other factors intensified the process: on the one hand manufacturers of machinery were eager to expand into the capital-goods-starved agricultural sector, and on the other, the whole institution of state finance provided the necessary credit, creating thereby a form of dependence of the peasant upon the state and specifically the A.T.E. (Agricultural Bank of Greece). It can be argued that there was a political need for such an economic policy, however uneconomic in the short-run: after the troubled years of civil war, followed soon by the instability of the early 1960's, the organisers of the military coup of 1967 made every attempt to consolidate political support from the peasantry, a policy stimulated by the shrinking power-base of the Right in the cities which propelled them towards the politically conservative peasants. Third, the financial situation of the peasants themselves was by now being supported by the remissions of emigrants, and this helped to make possible the retention of peasant labour in the family holding.

However, after 1968 there seems to be a qualitative and quantitative change in agriculture. It is in this period that the introduction of other machinery, apart from tractors, begins. In 1968, for instance, 6 thresher harvesters were owned in Mavrommati, along with 25 pumps, 10 sprinkler units without pumps, 13 seeding machines and 10 power sprayers.⁶⁶

In 1980 there were 6 thresher-harvesters but also 8 harvesters, one thresher, one simple mower, 105 pumps and 80 sprinkler units

(we refer to pumps and sprinkler units more extensively under the heading of irrigation). For the same year the table gives a total of 18 (6 + 12) seeding machines and 30 power sprayers.⁶⁷

It seems that after 1968 the basis was quickly laid for a form of economic differentiation in terms of the ownership of machinery. The new element now is not simply ownership of a tractor but rather ownership of means of production which go beyond the stage of family use and become the basis of a process of further accumulation of capital and exploitation of other cultivators.

Along with this process in the 1970's went another of great significance. The expansion of industry in the Thebes region had a marked influence on agriculture and on the peasants themselves. By providing alternative employment, it put pressure indirectly on the peasant, either to modernise his holding, or desert it altogether, since he would otherwise find it uneconomical to stay in agriculture and retain the land. Second, it opened the door for an expansion of the cultivation of and by the owners of machinery who either bought or rented the land of others or hired out their machinery, extracting in fees a certain portion of the peasant's surplus product. Third, to some extent it created a new type of cultivator for, by providing alternative employment (full-time or part-time), it made it possible for an average farmer to concentrate on the less labour-intensive crops (clover, durum wheat) or the strictly seasonal ones requiring the machinery of others. This quasi-peasant-worker situation was the result of the possibilities opened up inside agriculture outlined above, the consequent reduction of labour-time, and outside it, in industry. Note also that investment in agriculture may be in rented land, to an extent not shown in available statistics. According to the Census for Agriculture and Livestock in 1981, Mavrommati had 132 tractors, 16 of which were under 18HP, 8 thresher-harvesters (combine harvesters) and 2 simple mowers. No other information concerning agricultural machinery was recorded.

It is interesting that there is a degree of concentration of machinery in the hands of a small minority. For example, seven out of eight combine harvesters were owned by seven people who had also in their ownership either a single tractor over 50 HP

66. Mavrommati Parish Registers, see note 3 above.

67. *Ibid.*

or two tractors. It is also clear that a total of twenty-one cultivators, 7 per cent of the total, owned 45 items of agricultural machinery, 32 per cent of the total machinery recorded in the census.⁶⁸

By dividing the total area under cultivation by the number of tractors in the village we arrive at the average number of stremmata cultivated per year per tractor. There is, however, a problem in the case of Mavrommati. The total land under cultivation according to the Census mentioned is approximately 22,000 stremmata (underestimated by 6,900 str. according to the figure of 28,900 for the same year officially given by the Kinotis). Furthermore the number of tractors given by the Kinotis was 110 whereas in the census it is 132. Our own observations suggest that the Kinotis figure of 28,900 is nearer to reality, and our own figure for tractors is 132. Thus, in Mavrommati 219 stremmata of land were being cultivated by the use of each tractor. The average for Greece was 159 str. in 1979.

Such a comparison, however, has certain weaknesses. It puts together in the same category tractors over and under 18 HP, which are very different in price, and it ignores differences of land and crop.

In the case of Mavrommati only 16 of the 132 tractors were under 18 HP. But it is different in the case of trees (mainly olive trees) because they cover 10,020 str., so that in a large part of the cultivated area the use of tractors is irrelevant. As was stressed earlier, mechanisation was the result of a combination of factors such as shortage of labour, expansion of the market, credit policy, etc. At the same time it led to a series of developments like seasonal surplus labour and increased productivity and volume of production; and finally it provided a basis for further capital accumulation in agriculture. In the period after 1968 access to credit became much easier (for reasons indicated above) and the peasants' economic decisions concerning mechanisation no doubt became influenced by the attachment of social status to the ownership of machinery and especially tractors. Indeed the horse-power of the tractor itself contributes to social status. It is no surprise that in Mavrommati the average horse-power was over 50 for tractors, when the average size of land holding was approximately 50 stremmata (including fallow land and olive trees).

68. *Ibid.*

The implications of investment in farm machinery for socio-economic differentiation in the villages are matched by those of drilling and control of water for irrigation. Between 1963 and 1980, sprinkler-units in Mavrommati increased from two to eighty, and pumps from fifteen to 105, reflecting the impact of new 'dynamic' crops, which require efficient irrigation, and of course indicating the effort by better-off peasants to produce for the growing market.

But the amount of irrigated land appears to have declined from 6,675 str. in 1973 to 6,270 in 1978 and to 4,250 in 1980. Behind these figures lie certain problems of water-availability. Mavrommati cultivators have some 11,500 str. in the Kopais territory and about 7,500 str. of arable land in the plain below the village (as well as 10,000 str. planted with olives). In Kopais the anticipated expansion of irrigation has been greatly delayed, in the first place because of exceptionally low rainfall in the 70's and early 80's (the lowest in Bocotia for seventy years), and secondly because of a fall in the normal level of the nearby and connected Lake Iliki. It appears that the latter results from the demands of Athens. These same demands take all the water supplied by the recently built Mornos project, which at one time had been expected to provide a source of water for irrigation of Kopais.

In 1967 a hydrogeological study carried out by the Ministry of Agriculture and the French Company P.R.Z.M. suggested that there were water reserves under Kopais which could solve the problem, and in 1974, the Ministry of Agriculture was allocated funds for a total of 22 large-diameter drillings.⁶⁹ By 1977 only eight of those drillings were completed and were being used temporarily for irrigation. This initial move faced strong opposition from the residents of Orchomenos, who claimed that it adversely affected the water level of their wells for home and land use, contrary to the guarantees given by the relevant department of the Ministry of Agriculture. The matter was only resolved in court, which upheld the Orchomenos claim. However, in accordance with Greek tradition, the matter was resolved legally, but not practically. In the same year the cultivators of the village of Agios Demetrios (Western Kopais) suffered a loss of some fifty million

69. E.S.Y.E. *Deltion* (1980) (see note 3 above).

drachmas as a result of the poor irrigation of their crops. At the time of writing the problem remained very serious. It is estimated in the region that a total sum of three billion drachmas is needed to carry out all the infrastructural work necessary for full-scale irrigation of approximately 200,000 str. of land in Kopais.

The non-Kopais land in the plain can be irrigated only by drilling. The root of the problem is, of course, no different from those of Kopais, but takes different forms. There has undoubtedly been a fall in the water level as the result of the lack of rain for the past fifteen years and the continuous pumping of water in the region. Thus, the water level in 1982 was between 100 and 120 metres and often much lower, whereas fifteen years ago it was between 40 and 50 metres. There are, however, some indications of recent improvement. On the side of the plain near Kopais itself, the depth is between 60 and 70 metres. Recently water was discovered on the west side of the road approaching Kopais and drilling begun.

There are two types of drilling, private and public. The basic conditions for a public drilling are: ownership of land over 20 str. not necessarily in one fragment, and a distance of more than 300m from any other drilling. Such drillings are subsidised to the extent of 60 to 65 per cent for the drilling alone, if it is successful, and by 90 per cent when no water is discovered. Finally, before the approval of operations, a positive study report by an authorised geologist is required. In the region there is a delay of at least one year between the approval of the application and the actual work, since any drilling must be included in the annual programme of the Ministry of Agriculture.

According to the law there should be a distance of at least 300m between any two drillings. This being the case, the cultivator who gets water first in his land by means of a drilling is immediately in an advantageous position because he can make use of his ownership of water to either sell it or to rent or buy the land of others, which is of no great use without water. The minimum size of land which can be exploited in such a way is approximately 70 str., since if there is another drilling at a distance of 300m then each cultivator can go as far as 150m from the drilling itself. The surface area in this case will be maximally 70.65 str. Practically, however, the situation is different, simply because there are not many drillings in the plain (in the Mavrommati plains land, ten)

and consequently the area rented is usually a good deal larger than 70.65 str.

Agreements for rent of land in these cases are on an annual basis. In Greek law, presumably originally intended as a protection for small tenant cultivators, it is laid down that any tenant who cultivates the land for more than two years cannot be evicted. Here, where the matter is one of rent being paid by the economically stronger signatory, the parties recognise the anomaly of such a law and prefer contracts signed and dissolved on a strictly annual basis. Annual rents in 1980, for the Mavrommati land in the plain, were 2,000 dr. per stremma and in 1982 2,500 per stremma.⁷⁰ An alternative situation is '*misaka*' — shared cultivation — with one party providing the land and the other the water.

Although we have characterised the peasant who pays rent for land as the 'economically stronger' in these cases, it should also be said that there exists a possibility of the small owner of land also finding certain bargaining strengths and putting pressure on the owner of a water supply. This possibility, with its evident implications for slowing down the process of economic differentiation of the peasantry, arises because of the marginal economic character which small plots of non-irrigated land can have for the peasant in the plain, who either cultivates additional land in Kopais or is employed in the non-agricultural sector of the economy. In other words, he can afford not to rent his land for one year in an attempt to raise the land-rent for the following year, simply because it had only marginal economic importance for him in any case, yet may constitute a necessary area of expansion for his neighbour who has invested in a drilling and a pump.

The average cost of a drilling was well above one million drachmas in 1981. A typical example illustrates the attendant problems. The total land owned by this cultivator was thirty-nine str., sixteen str. of which was in Kopais and three planted with olive trees near the village. There were twenty str. owned in the plain, previously planted with cereal crops. The drilling started with an initial contribution by the cultivator of 50,000 drachmas

70. Calculation from the original returns of the cultivators for the 1981 census. E.S.Y.E. *Apographi Georgias — ktinotrofias tis 15es Martiou, 1981 (Ademosiefta Stoicheia)*.

and a twelve-year credit at an interest rate of twelve per cent. Total cost was 1,600,000 drachmas, 280,000 of which consisted of a subsidy from the Ministry of Agriculture. Finally, the depth was just over 100m and the total cost included a 400m-long pipe system.

It is clear that such an investment would have been totally irrational without the expectation of further expansion of the holding. Interestingly enough, the landowner considered all the legislation involved in drilling and irrigation as an expression of what he called 'tchiflik', E.E.C. policies leading to the concentration of the land into the hands of the few. He anticipated profiting from that process, for otherwise it was not worth raising such a large loan. However, we would expect further research to reveal cases where cultivators had been forced into modernisation and great indebtedness as a result of competition in the market, as the only way to survive, and indeed it is by no means uncommon to see relatively small cultivators getting heavily into debt to improve or expand their cultivations.

In general, there seems little doubt that, working as it does in conjunction with cultivation of 'dynamic' commercial crops, irrigation is a considerable factor for economic differentiation among the peasantry.

Some effects of industrialisation

Social relations in Greek agriculture are usually discussed in terms of size of land-holding, and indeed we have sought to show in detail what tendencies may be revealed in the relative weight of small, medium and larger landed property. Our earlier remarks about the impact of new types of commercial crops, mechanisation, credit, and control of water-supply for irrigation through drilling, direct attention to some of the factors at work for socio-economic differentiation. Employment, and especially the availability of work in factories in the Thebes area, has also been drawn into the discussion. Thus far, however, we have considered only the immediate impact on peasant families of such employment, viz., as one of the factors making possible the retention of small family landholdings which would not alone be a viable basis for a peasant house-hold. Further analysis suggests that behind this immediately 'conservative' effect of industrial employ-

ment there is taking place a longer-term radical transformation of social relations.

The 1981 census material for one village (Mavrommati) is enough to suggest that employment outside agriculture has become highly significant.⁷¹ There were 529 households. Of employed heads of households, 304 had agriculture as their principal occupation and 208 had their principal employment outside agriculture. It is not possible to be quite so precise about the total number of households with at least one member employed outside agriculture but it was probably as high as 400 and certainly no less than 350. (Strictly comparable figures for earlier years are unfortunately not available). Other villages will vary, according to factors such as distance from factories, age structure resulting from earlier emigration, types of crop, land and water supply and the impact of these on prosperity and emigration in earlier years, and so on, but Mavrommati is not atypical in matters of employment and occupation for the villages in our survey area.

What is the relationship between size of landholding on the one hand and non-agricultural employment of family members on the other? To answer this question fully will only be possible after further research, but the results so far obtained from our study of a stratified sample of 160 holdings, 1955-6 to 1980, do yield information concerning the relationship between size of land and employment or non-employment of the proprietor outside agriculture.

The relevant data may be presented very simply in Table XIII.

Before moving to any conclusion, certain reservations about some of the figures themselves need to be made. In category (2): those with 11-40 str; it should be noted that a large proportion (at least half) of the men who do *not* work are older men, survivors from our original (1955) sample, often with sons or daughters and their families living in, some of the latter working outside. Some of those in category (3): those with 41-60 str; have other income, e.g. from battery-chicken production in two cases. In a few cases, farmers in categories (3) and (4) have very good irrigated land yielding high incomes. At least 20 per cent of those in category

71. N. Roussis. 'Se anazitisi "chrisis tomis" yia tin ardefsi tis Kopaidas', *Ekonomiko Fachydromos* 1224 (20.10.1977).

Table XIII

	Col. I No. of holdings	Col. II workers	Col. III
1. with 10 str. or less	49	49	(100%)
2. with 11-40 str.	59	37	(62.76%)
3. with 41-60 str.	23	10	(43.48%)
4. with 61-100 str.	20	8	(40%)
5. with 101 or more str.	23	0	none
Total	174	104	(59.77%)

(2) who do *not* work outside agriculture are men living in Thespieae, with relatively good land and water supply near their village as well as land on Kopais. Finally, the table does not take into account the many men with small holdings who have simply left or gone to other jobs, selling, renting or abandoning their land, or keeping a very tiny piece which brothers tend and crop olives for them. If due allowance were made for all of these factors, then our conclusion could only be strengthened.

A point has been reached at which the concept of internal socio-economic differentiation of the peasantry has reached its limit. Beyond this limit, reliance on the concept is in danger of distorting reality. Whatever delays and complexities may be at work, there is a definite tendency for the very small and small land-proprietor to become a wage-worker. Whatever the 'cultural' similarities between small and larger owners, it is incontrovertible that the small owner is a wage-worker who owns a small plot of family land, while a few larger farmers are able to live without becoming wage-workers. These same owners of larger plots of land are typically those who find capital for machinery and/or drilling and pumps. They are joined by a few without large landholdings but with sufficient investment to be able to command rented land or a return on hire of plant.⁷²

What is now required is a detailed study of the complex and contradictory consequences of this structural change in class relations for the social and cultural life of the community. Values

72. Interviews with cultivators at Hani (Thebes plain) August 1980 and August 1982.

Table XIV — Crop Changes Under General Categories

Year	1963			1968			1973			1978			1980		
	A	B	%	A	B	%	A	B	%	A	B	%	A	B	%
Crops on Arable Land	16500	60.0	8120	74.0	3540	60.50	6150	17200	55.5	5050	14800	51.2			
Vines	3000	11.0	—	2700	8.5	—	7	800	3.0	20	800	3.0			
(horticulture) Vegetables & garden Crops	400	1.5	400	347	1.0	347	525	2	525	1200	4.0	1500	5.2		
Area under Trees	6513	24.0	13	5020	16.0	—	6410	22	—	10020	34.5	—	10020	34.5	
Fallow Land	1000	35.0	—	200	0.5	—	2855	10	—	830	3.0	—	1780	6.1	
Total	27413	100.0	8533	31687	100.0	3887	28990	100	6675	28900	100.0	6270	28900	100.0	

Sources:

1. *Delition Georgikis statistikis erevnas, etous 1963* (Bulletin of Agricultural statistical research, year 1963), E.S.Y.E., Athens, 1964).
 2. *Delition . . . 1968.*
 3. *Delition . . . 1973.*
 4. *Delition . . . 1978.*
 5. *Delition . . . 1980.*
- (A = Total in streamata)
(B = Percentage of A in Total)
(C = Streamata of irrigated land)

Table XV — Vegetable and Garden Area (Horticulture in Siremmata and Production)

Year	1963	1968	1973	1978	1980
Horticulture Vegetables & Garden Crops	Production Siremmas of Kgs. A B	A B	A B	A B	A B
Onions	— —	20 34.6	200 50	100 100	200
Tomatoes	— —	20 100.0	100 800	800 8000	1000 10000
Nursery Plants	400 —	302 —	325 —	350 —	400 —
Other	— —	5 0.5	— —	— —	— —
Total	400 —	347 —	525 —	1200 —	1500 —

Table XVI — Vines — Siremmata and Production

Year	1963	1968	1973	1978	1980
Vines	Production Siremmata A B in thousands of Kgs.	A B	A B	A B	A B
Vines for wine	3000 1680	2700 1080	2000 800	800 800	680
Other vines	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —
Total	3000 1680	2700 1080	2000 1500	800 800	680

Table XVII — Tree Crops — Srennata, Number of Trees and Production

Year	1963				1968				1973				1978				1980			
Tree crops	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
Almond trees	5	200	500	10	20	200	500	15	110	1600	1500	30	500	5000	—	20	500	5000	—	—
Walnut trees	—	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	200	50	2	20	200	—	2	20	200	—	—
Pear trees	—	—	800	10	—	—	500	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Olive trees*	6500	65000	9000	180	5000	60000	—	1500	6300	64500	5000	1000	9500	95000	—	1250	9500	95000	—	1000
Sundries	8	30	1050	3	—	—	2000	100	—	—	1000	40	—	—	1000	—	—	—	1000	10
TOTAL	6513	—	—	—	5020	—	—	—	6410	—	—	—	10020	—	—	—	10020	—	—	—
Land irrigated	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
A = Srennata	B = Trees in compact plantations				C = Grown with other crops				D = Production in thousands of kgs.				20				20			

* Production in the case of olive trees refers to olives before they are made into olive oil.

Sources: E.S.V.E. *Delition* ... 1963, 1968, 1973, 1978, 1980, *op cit*.

and norms continue to reflect a set of social relations which has been totally undermined by the advent of wage-labour on a large scale. This has a much more direct impact than the great changes of earlier decades such as foreign and internal migration. The long-term effect of the latter was to condemn the village to the fate of a stagnant backwater. But the effects of industrial employment are more contradictory. During a period of industrial expansion, this employment, as we have seen, tends to work to perpetuate small proprietorship. It is clear that any tendency to a decline in real wages, let alone large-scale unemployment and recession, would have disastrous effects. In any case it is unavoidable that wage-workers will be drawn into new connections with national economic and political life, often in ways where their interests as wage-workers and the interests of cultivators (sometimes themselves and their families) as hitherto conceived are in open contradiction. It is also necessary to consider the implications of these changes for the long-term political life of Greece. The persistence of small-ownership, as well as cheap credit for small owners, has often been thought to work as a basis for appealing to the rural population as a force for political conservatism. In the General Election of 1983, there was a considerable swing towards PASOK in the rural areas of Boeotia as well as in other provinces.

Further research should explore the 'ground-level' processes which are at work in the rural areas, to test whether we have been correct in perceiving a growth in the category of wage-workers not as agricultural labourers but as industrial and some service workers, a growth whose existence and significance has tended to be obscured by the persistence of sociologists in conceptualising problems in terms of differentiation of the peasantry, measured primarily by the growth and decline of categories of size of landholding.⁷³ This type of discussion has no doubt appeared more scientific and radical, perhaps, than anthropological work which has concentrated on the norms and values of what look like peasant communities. It may be, however, that it has done no more than provide a sort of structural backbone to justify such static anthropological approaches. Peasant villages these are, but they are increasingly, in many cases, villages in which the majority of producers are wage-workers who for historical reasons (which

73. See note 68 above.

may prove still to be important) have retained small plots of land. There is indeed a world of difference between what these villages were in the 1950's and what they are today.

Table XVIII — Livestock 1953-1980

Year	1953	1963	1968	1973	1978	1980
Livestock	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Horses		190	30	70	50	50
Mules	451*	150	220	200	60	50
Asses	—	150	60	100	40	40
Sheep		3700	3650	3600	3000	2300
Goats	30707*	400	470	520	430	230
Chickens	—	10000	16000	13000	20000	20000
Bee Hives	—	350	700	600	400	400
Pigs	—	100	—	60	10	—

* The figures for 1953 refer to totals for 'Big animals' in the first case and 'small animals' in the second.

Sources:

a) For 1953, 'Tax list for small animals' 1953', Mavrommati 1954; 'Tax list for 'big animals' 1953', Mavrommati 1954.

b) E.S.Y.E. *Deltion* . . . 1963, 1968, 1973, 1978, 1980, *op. cit.*

Table XIX — Agricultural Machinery 1963-1980

Pumps

Year	1963	1968	1973	1978	1980
Total	13	50	80	110	110
Thereof under 18 h.p.	1	2	1	1	1
Threshers	1	6	1	6	6
Harvesters	—	—	8	8	8
Threshers (all types)	1	—	2	1	1
Simple mowers	—	—	—	—	—
Maize leaf-removers	—	—	—	—	—
Cream separators	—	—	—	—	—
Diesel oil	10**	15**	30	50	50
Petrol	—	—	20	30	30
Electric	5	10	20	25	25
Other (steam etc. and bucket elevator)	—	—	—	—	—
Sprinkling units*	2	10	50	80	80
Wheat sowing machines	—	3	5	6	6
Sowing machines, cotton, maize	—	10	12	12	12
Power sprayers	—	10	20	20	20

Agricultural tractors

* Without their pumps.

** The figure available included both Diesel and Petrol Pumps.

Source: E.S.Y.E., *Deltion* . . . 1963, 1968, 1973, 1980, *op. cit.*

Table XX — Production
(no. of stremmata devoted to types of crop)

1955	<i>Vegetables irrigated</i>	<i>Olives</i>	<i>Vines</i>	<i>Arable</i>	<i>Total</i>
Panagia	11.5 (.15%)	2358 (30%)	2184.5 (28%)	3281 (42%)	7835
Bagia	1116 (3%)	8577 (23%)	1697 (4.5%)	25945 (69.5%)	37335
Xironomi	—	3771.5 (55%)	790 (11.5%)	2329.5 (33.5%)	6891
Mavrommati	101.5 (10%)	2754 (26%)	1326 (12.5%)	6346 (61%)	10527

Cavafy's Barbarians and their Western Genealogy

DIMITRIS TZIOVAS

'Waiting for the Barbarians' is probably the most discussed of Cavafy's poems after 'The God abandons Antony'. Its sources, its date of composition and its diachronic symbolism, along with Cavafy's unfathomable intentions, have generated a large number of interpretations and debates. Reading the poem today one cannot escape from these layers of interpretation, a kind of meta-discourse which regulates the new approaches either compliant or defiant to those already existent. It seems that the accumulated interpretations of a literary text sometimes discomfort those who seek stable and obvious meanings rather than a multiplicity of opinions and conflicting approaches. The very bulk of scholarship related to a certain poem or poet discourages a new reading and makes the critic hesitant and apprehensive. Nevertheless the diversity of interpretive approaches helps us both to realize their relativity and to ascribe them entirely to the various interpreters.

My reading of Cavafy's poem 'Waiting for the Barbarians' does not constitute a close textual analysis nor does it aspire to add a new meaning to the poem. It follows a rather different direction and is based on the assumption that literary texts tend to incorporate the intellectual anxieties and the cultural fluctuations of the period in which they are produced. This critical stance of course does not exclude other interpretations from temporally different perspectives or opposing interpretive communities but defines the literary text as a kind of document of a specific historical moment. It treats the text as an outcome of a certain

historical conjuncture and not as a suspended object without any temporal or contextual connections. Despite the fact that some texts do not invite this kind of historical or comparative approach it seems quite a useful means of demonstrating the worldliness of literature. The notion that a literary text is not a self-sufficient entity but is always burdened with its occasion, with the empirical realities out of which it emerged, is strongly put forward by Edward Said, who subscribes to the view that "Texts have ways of existing, both theoretical and practical, that even in their most rarefied form are always enmeshed in circumstances, time, place and society — in short, they are in the world, and hence are worldly."¹

At this point one could object that in this way the mythology of origins and the philology of sources is perpetuated. In other words the original context of the poem overshadows or even displaces the poem itself. To such a hypothetical objection one could reply in a twofold way: 1. The placing of a poem in a specific historical or intellectual context does not aim at a fuller enjoyment or a deeper understanding which reveals its roots and in turn its truth. On the contrary, this approach has a different starting point. Inasmuch as today the antithesis between history = truth and literature = fiction has been put into question and everything can be seen as relationships between texts or interpretive readings, it is possible to examine how a literary text originates, interweaves, coexists or even contradicts other texts from which one may form an idea about the intellectual and historical events of the past. Therefore the historical study and classification of a text constitutes an investigation into its implicit intertextuality and a reaffirmation of its potential for providing historical information. 2. My approach to the poem does not seek to unearth new sources but to relate some of its elements to more general problems in western thought by showing how Cavafy treats a vexed question which preoccupied certain European writers and intellectuals at the end of the last century. After these introductory remarks it is time to concentrate on the poem itself.

Most critics writing on the poem stress the universality of the symbolic barbarians; they see in them the expectations for redemptive changes in life and a mixture of fear and uncertainty along

1. Edward Said, 'The Text, the World, The Critic' in Josué V. Harari, ed., *Textual Strategies — Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism* (London 1979) 165.

with a relief and a hopeful vision. They seek to disentangle the poem from its historicity and to reveal its human and universal dimensions. For them the Barbarians provided further evidence for Cavafy's fatalism and pessimism as they were clearly expressed in his other poems 'Walls', 'The City', 'Trojans', 'The Windows' and 'Ithaka'. Although his pessimism was defined as "genuinely Greek, tragic and heroic"² it constituted the hermeneutical way out from the imprisonment and perplexity which this group of poems led. The proverbial recognition of the Barbarians and their symbolic universality discouraged or suspended attempts to explore their genealogy. However by locating 'Waiting for the Barbarians' in a historical context and tracing the background of its symbol, one could demonstrate that its heroic or tragic pessimism was simply a historical awareness or another philosophy of history quite distant from the prophetic mythologies of the nineteenth century.

'Waiting for the Barbarians' was written in December 1898 and published in 1904. Since then it has been monumentalized as 'the message of the poet to the future' and its theme had been used by other poets such as Kleon Paraschos in his poem 'Barbarians' (1921).³ There are four comments on the poem left in different circumstances by Cavafy himself. The first was dictated by the poet to Pavlos A. Petridis, the second cited by Timos Malanos, who recorded a discussion with Cavafy, while the third and fourth are short hand-written notes by the poet himself. Despite the fact that these four comments are not always essential for the understanding of the poem since the readers and not the poet are responsible for its meaning, they can operate as signposts for its historical cross-examination and its juxtaposition with parallel ideas and questions in western thought of that period.

According to the first comment recorded by P.A. Petridis it is plain that Cavafy was preoccupied by the problem of civilization. "Ο Καβάφης νομίζει ότι ο Πολιτισμός δέν μᾶς ἔδωκε τήν εὐτυχίαν Σέ στιγμή μαύρης ἀπαισιοδοξίας πρέπει νά συνέλαβε τό 'Περιμένοντας τούς Βαρβάρους'".⁴ At this point

2. E.P. Papanoutsos, Παλαμᾶς, Καβάφης, Σικελιανός (Athens 1955) 176.

3. Kleon Paraschos, Οἱ Βάρβαροι, *Μοῦσα* 1 (8) (March 1921) 121. Also, in Muriel Spark's novel *Girls of Slender Means* (1963), one character quotes the last two lines of Cavafy's poem.

4. P.A. Petridis, "Ένας Ἀλεξανδρινός ποιητής — Κωνσταντῖνος Καβάφης", *Νέα Ζωή* 5 (54) (March 1909) 204.

a clarification is required for a better understanding of the word Πολιτισμός as it is used in the above passage. The word is written with a capital initial letter and it seems that its implications are neither universal nor strictly Greek. Speaking about the problem of civilization Cavafy perhaps refers to the impasse of the Western civilization since it is the only civilization which can claim the perfection and the universal dissemination which the poet implies in his discussion with Petridis. "Ἡ εἶδησις ὅτι οἱ Βάρβαροι πειὰ δὲν ὑπάρχουν, εἶναι ἡ πεποίθησις τοῦ ποιητοῦ. Νομίζει ὅτι ὁ κολοσσιαῖος αὐτός ὁργανισμός πού λέγεται Πολιτισμός, εἶναι τόσο τέλειος, οἱ πλόκαμοί του ἀγκαλιάζουν τόσο σφιχτά τὸν πλανήτη μας, ὥστε κάθε προσπάθεια πρὸς ἀποφυγὴν του, πρὸς ἐπιστροφὴν σὲ βίον ἀρχέγονον θά ἦτο ματαία."⁵ Malanos' comment also reaffirms that the poet was preoccupied with the fate of exhausted civilizations and their future orientation. In this comment Cavafy's scepticism comes to the fore when he argues that it is fruitless to wait for the Barbarians, "ἔτσι πού μᾶς ἔχει ὑποταγμένους ὁ πολιτισμός".⁶ The poet then concedes that man cannot step out of history and reject the culture which determines him. Such an a-historicism and escape from worldliness and temporality seems impossible, while easy solutions and revolutionary changes must be precluded. In this way 'Waiting for the Barbarians', together with 'Walls', 'Trojans' and 'The Windows', represents a significant stage in the poet's awareness and a manifestation of his historical scepticism.

Malanos also points out that Cavafy in their discussion of the poem made reference to Nietzsche and his theory of eternal recurrence.

"Στὴν ἐρμηνευτικὴ τοῦ ἀνάλυσης μου ἀνάπτυξε πρῶτα τὴ φιλοσοφικὴ θεωρία τοῦ αἰώνιου γυρισμοῦ τοῦ Νίτσε, γιὰ νὰ καταλήξει, πιὸ ὕστερα, στὸ κύριο πρόβλημα πού τὸν εἶχε μιὰν ἐποχὴ ἀπασχολήσει. Ὁ πολιτισμός μας, πού αἰῶνες τώρα συνεχίζεται, εἶναι στερεός ἢ μπορεῖ νὰ διακοπῇ καὶ νὰ ἐπακολουθήσει σ' αὐτόν μιὰ περίοδος βαρβαρότητας;"⁷

This passage indicates that his concern for the fate of civilization and the imminent arrival of the barbarians stems to some

5. *Ibid.* 204.

6. Timos Malanos, *Ὁ Ποιητὴς Κ.Π. Καβάφης* (Athens 1957) 300.

7. *Ibid.* 299. See also Timos Malanos, *Καβάφης 2* (Athens 1963) 64 and M. Yialourakis, *Καβάφης: ἀπὸ τὸν Πρίαπο στὸν Κάρλ Μάρξ* (Athens 1975) 104-111.

extent from his reading of Nietzsche or Renan; as Cavafy says in his English note: "Renan mentions the possibility of 'nouveaux barbares' ".⁸ This note throws light on his third short-handed note for the poem which I cite with the restored parts in brackets. "I was also s(o)m(e)wh(at) doubtful ab(out) 'περ(ι)μ(έ)ν(ον)τας' τοῦς Β(α)ρ(βάρους)' and there I f(ound) in Re(nan) t(he) surmise that their recurrence is a possibility".⁹

Already certain critics have explored the connections of the poem with the 'decadent' European literature of the *fin de siècle*. First Agras¹⁰ and Malanos¹¹ read the poem in reference to Verlaine's *Langeur*. Later Renato Poggioli examined the poem within the dialectic of decadence and barbarism, drawing comparisons with poems by W.B. Yeats and Valeri Bryusov.¹² Recently G. Savidis published another comment on the poem by Cavafy himself. It also reveals that when Cavafy was writing 'Waiting for the Barbarians' he was indeed concerned with the future of a civilized society that envisaged a possible impasse in its progress.

"The poem presupposes just such a social predicament. A possible predicament; not a probable one; not my own anticipation. My views relating to the future are more optimistic. In any case, the poem does not contradict my optimism; it can be seen as a stage on the road to virtue.

The society reaches a certain level of affluence, of civilization and unease at which point, in desperation over the situation for which it can find no improvement that would be a compromise with its usual life-style, it decides to introduce radical changes: to sacrifice, to change, to turn back, to simplify (these are the "Barbarians"). Having made the decision, it rejoices and undertakes various preparations ("the emperor", "the brilliant presence of the supreme authorities and the praetors") and takes preliminary measures ("the interruption of the laws of the

8. See Stratis Tsirkas, *Ὁ Καβάφης καὶ ἡ ἐποχὴ του* (Athens³ 1973) 8-9.

9. This note was first published in M. Peridis, *Ὁ Βίος καὶ τὸ Ἔργο τοῦ Κωνστ. Καβάφη* (Athens 1948) 183. Its final and restored form can be found in C.P. Cavafy *Ἀνέκδοτα Σημειώματα Ποιητικῆς καὶ Ἠθικῆς*, ed. G.P. Savidis (Athens 1983) 61.

10. Tellos Agras, *Ὁ ποιητὴς Κ.Π. Καβάφης* (1922) in *Κριτικά*, vol. 1, ed. Kostas Stergiopoulos (Athens 1980) 45-46.

11. Timos Malanos, *op. cit.*, 300-301.

12. Renato Poggioli, 'Qualis Arifex Pereo! or Barbarian and Decadence', *Harvard Library Bulletin* 13 (1959) 135-159.

Senate"). But when the time comes to put all this into action, it suddenly becomes clear that it had envisaged a utopia ("nightfall without the arrival of the barbarians") and that, for reasons it had not foreseen, the plan of action is rendered impossible ("those arriving from the frontiers [and] saying that the barbarians do not exist"). So a deep despondency overcomes it ("the return of all, in a reflective mood, to their houses", "anxiety"); the poem does not however depict it in a state of utter desperation due to its failed expectations, but rather as indignant at what will happen ("And now what is to become of us", "it was a kind of solution").¹³ (The translation is mine).

This passage points to the reasons why Cavafy was concerned with the future of a civilized society and why he stressed that the situation described in the poem was not his own prediction (since his idea about the future was more optimistic). In one respect, these allusions presuppose that Cavafy was responding to ideas and dilemmas current at the time of writing the poem.

Furthermore, the statement in the poem that "βάρβαροι πιά δέν ὑπάρχουν" perhaps echoes the optimism of Edward Gibbon who argued that "it may safely be presumed that no people, unless the face of nature is changed, will relapse into their original barbarism".¹⁴ Cavafy had read Gibbon's influential book and wrote several comments on it, as Tsirkas¹⁵ claimed and recently Diana Haas has substantiated in an extensive article.¹⁶ Although Cavafy seems to share Gibbon's optimism about the gradual disappearance of barbarians he has some doubts about the progress of western civilization. Having overcome Gibbon's enthusiasm over Europe's progress he wishes to see some obstacles to the conquering development of the West and its civilization and he obliquely expresses these reservations in his notes. In this respect, the barbarians were for him a kind of a counterbalance "a kind of solution" in this rampant and unrestrained hegemony of western culture.

13. G.P. Savidis, 'Ο Καβάφης εκφράζει τον μείζονα ελληνισμό', *Ta Néa*, 23 April 1983, p.9.

14. Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J.B. Bury, IV (London 1909) 180.

15. Tsirkas, *op. cit.*, 329.

16. Diana Haas, 'Cavafy's Reading Notes on Gibbon's 'Decline and Fall'', *Folia Neohellenica* 4 (1982) 25-96.

It appears that the theme of barbarism was one of the central issues in Cavafy's early poetry; the poem "Οἱ Βάρβαροι" (1898) of which only the title has survived and the 'rejected' "Οἱ Ταραντίνοι διασκεδάζουν" (1898) point in that direction. The time of their composition almost coincides with that of 'Waiting for the Barbarians', indicating that Cavafy was preoccupied with the idea of barbarism at that period. Moreover his references to Nietzsche, Renan, Gibbon and Verlaine urge us to examine the poem in relation to some ideas current in Europe during the nineteenth century by investigating the emergence of the idea of barbarism.

The imminent barbarian threat did not emerge suddenly on the European scene and in the thought of its historians and philosophers. It had its links with more general views concerning the destiny of European civilization and the superiority of Europe. Gibbon, for instance, promulgated the idea of Europe as one great republic, arguing that despite the conflicting interests and differences in power and wealth among the neighbouring kingdoms "these partial events cannot essentially injure our general state of happiness, the system of arts, and laws, and manners, which so advantageously distinguish, above the rest of mankind, the Europeans and their colonies. The savage nations of the globe are the common enemies of civilized society; and we may inquire with anxious curiosity, whether Europe is still threatened with a repetition of those calamities which formerly oppressed the arms and institutions of Rome".¹⁷ Certainly Gibbon saw the barbarians as a threat but he believed so deeply in the progress and prosperity of Europe that he thought that geographically confined barbarism cannot seriously excite the apprehensions of Europe.

Hegel too was one of the main exponents of the idea that Europe superseded other people and its history constituted the fulfilment of the universal destiny for all the humanity. He argued that Europe is destined to create and continue an infinite culture and his conception of the universal history was based on the assumption that divine and absolute reason had been revealed in the highest degree in the recent history of Western Europe. Thus universal history was determined by the destiny of Europe: "The History of the World travels from East to West, for Europe

17. Gibbon, *op. cit.*, 176.

is absolutely the end of History, Asia the beginning."¹⁸ With Hegel's philosophy the secularization of history reaches its peak since from the time of St. Augustine to that of Bossuet the dominant philosophy of history was basically theological and placed the ultimate purpose of history in the kingdom of God.

In Hegel's philosophy of history the kingdom of Reason replaces that of God and the ecumenical pluralism of Christianity gives its place to the idea of progress expressed by the exponents of the Enlightenment. For Condorcet particularly Asia and Eastern civilization were undeveloped and lacked vitality,¹⁹ while for Turgot every people which acquired the lights of civilization quickly surpassed its neighbours. Each step forward facilitated the next and thus the progress of such a nation accelerated whereas other nations remained in mediocrity.²⁰ Such views reinforced the arrogance of Europe and the belief in its guiding role in comparison with the rest of a world which was still deep in barbarism. Although most European historians acknowledged the East as the cradle of civilization, they deplored its present backwardness, and contrasted it with European progress. Although they saw the East, because of its present state, as a potential threat, they did not conceal their suspicion that the East perhaps possessed the secret of the (re)birth of western civilization. Such ideas led historians to take a Eurocentric attitude towards other people outside Europe. As Franklin Baumer has put it.

'History was customarily written as though Europe (or some portion thereof, some one or more nations, since this was the heyday of European nationalism) were, indeed, the center of the universe where all new and creative ideas originated. It was also widely assumed that the 'primitive' mind represented a much lower stage of development than that of 'cultured' Europe. All this was in rather sharp contrast to the eighteenth century when, despite the idea of progress, Europeans were likely to locate their paradise in some other portion of the globe, in the exotic East or in primitive America'.²¹

18. G.W.F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History* (New York 1956) 103.

19. See Antoine — Nicolas de Condorcet, *Sketch for a historical picture of the progress of the human mind* (1795), tr. Jane Barraclough (London 1955).

20. Turgot's views on the Chinese reflect his attitude towards the Orient and its culture in general. He wrote about them "Les Chinois ont été fixés trop tôt. Ils sont devenus comme ces arbres dont on a coupé la tige, et qui poussent des branches près de terre. Ils ne sortent jamais de la médiocrité" (*Oeuvres de Turgot*, II (Paris 1844) 662.)

21. Franklin L. Baumer, *Modern European Thought — Continuity and Change in Ideas 1600-1950* (New York 1977) 266.

Until the late eighteenth century 'civilization' was seen as the destined goal of all mankind, and despite racial differences it was supposed that all the people on earth could achieve the highest possible degree of cultural progress. But in the nineteenth century this assumption lost ground to the idea that civilization was the peculiar achievement of certain races. This change can be explained first by the worship of 'diversitarianism'²² by the Romantic movement together with its reaction to the universality of the Enlightenment and second by the dislike of the egalitarianism promised by the French Revolution. Some also argue that the emphasis on racial diversity which in turn resulted in the idea of cultural inequality undertook the role of a defensive ideology when slavery and the slave trade were questioned or criticized at the end of the eighteenth century.²³

The paradox of the nineteenth century is that barbarism plays the role, on the one hand, of the comparative 'other' in order to prove western cultural progress and, on the other hand, represents a potential source of its rejuvenation. It is interesting to examine how this peculiar consideration of the barbaric element, which is characteristic of the last century as a whole but of its end in particular, came about at that time. Generally speaking in this century the idea of the barbarian or the wild man obtains a negative meaning in contrast to the previous centuries when the idea of the Noble Savage was at its peak. In the late eighteenth century, the heyday of the Noble Savage, the Polynesians of Cook's journals were transformed into the exotic men of J. Hawkesworth's *Voyages*. However, during the nineteenth century the enthusiasm for the exotic savages gave way to the idea of racial inequality and inferiority. Cultural level and progress begin to be associated even more with the racial origin although up to that time civilization was seen within the natural capacity of all the people to liberate themselves from the forces of superstition and environment. But as the idea of civilization was elaborated further, simultaneously with social and material development, the notion that civilization was the destined goal of all mankind, and even of those people in a primitive state, gradually lost ground. With the expansion of industrialism in the

22. Arthur O. Lovejoy, in his *The Great Chain of Being* (Cambridge, Mass 1936) introduces the term 'diversitarianism' relating it to Romanticism (p. 294).

23. See George W. Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution* (N. York 1968) 36.

West the gap between primitive people and the civilized Europeans widened. Therefore the ideas of primitivism and of cultural progress separated and civilization was defined as the achievement of aristocratic races.

However, developing industrialisation and social turbulence in Europe produced either a pessimistic assumption of gradual racial decline as expressed by Gobineau, or a nostalgia for a primitivism which would revitalize Europe. It seems that the cultural complacency of the Europeans, which reached a peak in the nineteenth century, found its satisfaction in the idea and the potential threat of barbarism. The barbarians proved, on the one hand, the progress of the West and, on the other hand, reminded it of their threat or the philistinism which had to be eradicated. They were viewed with a mixture of fascination and loathing as examples of what western man might have been in the past and what he might become once more after failing to achieve a certain cultural level or to protect himself. Matthew Arnold, for instance, designated the Barbarians as the ancestors of the English aristocratic class, saying 'The Barbarians, to whom we all owe so much, and who reinvigorated and renewed our worn-out Europe, had, as is well known, eminent merits; and in this country, where we are for the most part sprung from the Barbarians, we have never had the prejudice against them which prevails among the races of Latin origin'.²⁴ From a different point of view Jakob Burckhardt argued that the barbarians must be deprived of their dangerous nature and of the potential power of aggression. He came to the conclusion, however, that "there is a healthy barbarism, in which superior faculties lie latent, but there is also a purely negative and destructive barbarism".²⁵ The passages from Matthew Arnold and J. Burckhardt illustrate to a certain degree the perplexed attitude of the Europeans towards barbarism during the nineteenth century.

Cavafy, on the other hand, implicitly but acutely derides this complacency and fear of Europe by situating the time of crisis in the Roman Empire whose fate foreshadowed for many the future of Europe. 'Waiting for the Barbarians' represents a microcosm or a simulacrum of European despair and its cultural

24. M. Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy* (London 1889) 63.

25. Jakob Burckhardt, *Force and Freedom, Reflections on History*, ed. James Hastings Nichols (N. York 1943) 259.

deadlock. The Europeans seem to rejoice in their superiority and simultaneously are afraid of industrialism and cataclysmic developments. For this reason barbarism during the nineteenth century constitutes not only the threat but also the possible solution or the return to origins, especially as Europe was entering a period of crisis, the famous *Fin de Siècle*.

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century there were some explicit tendencies in western thought towards pessimism and decadence, while the term *Fin de Siècle*, rather elusive but rich in connotations, became dominant. An intellectual expression that epitomizes the pessimism of this period was the well-known book by Max Nordau *Degeneration* (Entartung) published in 1892/93. The western world seemed to be burdened with anxiety, to have doubts about the directions promised by the rationalism of positivism and to challenge bourgeois values and conventions. A strong feeling of uncertainty, the result of critical reflection and corrosive doubt, disturbed European thought. Quite characteristic is Nietzsche's metaphor for the Europeans who having burnt every bridge behind them remain in the middle of an open sea without any guide or hope for land and salvation. The infinite and dangerous sea replaces the previous certainty, since in Nietzsche's words: "perhaps there has never yet been such an 'open sea'".²⁶ This kind of uncertainty and lack of guidance resulted in an undermining of confidence in the rationalism of human nature. Knowledge appeared quite subjective and indeterminate and the outcome of history unpredictable and incomprehensible. A desire for change without obvious aims and specific ambitions reinforced the vagueness of this time.

The reaction to positivism which has some neo-romantic overtones especially in the Bergsonian doctrine of intuition, can be situated in this context. This revolt of course was not directed against science itself but against scienticism and the subsequent deterministic approach to things which it was supposed might lead to limitations of freedom. Thus the Bergsonian theory of creative evolution and the *élan vital* gains momentum. The increasing disillusionment with positivism at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries pointed to an undermining of reason and a strong turn towards the unconscious which is manifested not only in Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams*

26. Fr. Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*, tr. Walter Kaufmann (N. York 1974) 280.

(1900) but also in a series of studies of the unconscious behaviour of the crowd, a prime example being Gustave Le Bon's *La psychologie des foules* (1895). The emerging psychologism and the mounting attack on rationalism gave a new impetus to scepticism by proliferating the doubts about the progress of Western man.

A kind of Schopenhauerian pessimism preoccupies most of the intellectuals, writers and philosophers at that time, who cover a wide range of ideological positions from ethnocentric conservatives (Barrès) to socialists (Sorrel and Anatole France), anarchist sympathizers (Paul Claudel), social scientists (Durkheim and Le Bon) and philosophers such as Renouvier and Nietzsche. All of these thought that European civilization was in a precarious state and its progress in the bourgeois sense was a myth. This is explicitly stated by Sorrel in a collection of articles published in a volume in 1908 under the general title *Les Illusions du progrès*; they epitomized the scepticism of the previous decades and the tendency towards the revision and reconsideration of accepted values and conventions. Many intellectuals talked about a cultural and political crisis and compared the Europe of the nineteenth century with the period of Roman decline. This ominous analogy formed one of the main arguments of historians such as Burckhardt. His letters and lectures from 1868 until his death in 1889 clearly show his doubts about the future of Europe, which were based on the gradual disappearance of these elements which created its civilization. Nietzsche shared to some degree Burckhardt's misgivings about materialism, the role of the state and the egalitarian democracy as the principal causes of the increasing decline of European culture. He also launched an attack against conventional morality as an outcome of Christianity, something which underlies much of Cavafy's poetry as well.

Apart from Burckhardt some other leading European intellectuals such as Myers compared their period with Hellenistic decadence or Byzantine despair.²⁷ Earlier, in 1855, Baudelaire argued that the Europeans lived in an arrogant century which ignored entirely the fate of Greece and Rome. At any rate the overriding belief in the European decadence overshadowed the intellectual horizon towards the end of the last century. Some

27. Frederic W.H. Myers, *Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death* (London 1903) II, 279-80.

attempted to find solutions in religion, while others, like Rimbaud in his *Une Saison en Enfer* (1873), forsook the European 'hell' in order to discover primitive and more vital civilizations in Africa or Asia.²⁸ In this case the barbarians were 'a certain solution'. Political solutions, such as those suggested by Barrès or Sorrel, were also proposed. The first saw national energy or national egotism as a remedy whereas the second envisaged a peculiar myth, a kind of collective vision or popular dream which would awaken the working class. Cavafy, in this respect, does not appear prophetic or messianic despite his effort to overcome the various deadlocks as they are presented in his poems 'Trojans', 'The City', 'Walls'. His struggle however does not result in a redemptive vision or a powerful remedy but in the individual imprisonment and awareness expressed in the poem 'The Windows'.

Μά τά παράθυρα δέν βρίσκονται, ἢ δέν μπορῶ
νά τᾶβρω. Καί καλλίτερα ἴσως νά μὴν τᾶ βρῶ.

It is clear, however, that Cavafy does not remain indifferent to the drama of European civilization. His attitude seems to resemble that of Nietzsche as it is expressed in *The Birth of Tragedy* and in his other books. It is generally supposed that Nietzsche viewed history as a cyclical process. His famous idea of eternal recurrence to which Cavafy makes reference was described as a response to naive notions of linear progress current in his own time. In *The Birth of Tragedy* Nietzsche imagined a progressive transition from the Dionysiac spirit of 'savage barbarism' to the Dionysiac spirit of the post-Homeric Greeks through an intermediary Apollonian or cultural epic phase. For Nietzsche the decline of Greek tragedy did not mean a fall back into 'savage' barbarism but a movement forward into decadence which itself went through three stages: Hellenistic (scientific), Roman

28. "Le plus malin est de quitter ce continent, où la folie rôde pour pourvoir d'otages ces misérables. J'entre au vrai royaume des enfants de Cham" (p. 97) "je retourne à l'Orient et à la sagesse première et éternelle" (p. 113) "Rien pour vous dans l'histoire des peuples orientaux. — C'est vrai; c'est à l'Eden que je songeais! Qu'est-ce que c'est pour mon rêve, cette pureté des races antiques!"

Les philosophes: Le monde n'a pas d'âge. L'humanité se déplace, simplement. Vous êtes en Occident, mais libre d'habiter dans votre Orient, quelque ancien qu'il vous le faille, — et d'y habiter bien. Ne soyez pas un vaincu. Philosophes, vous êtes de votre Occident." (p. 113)

Arthur Rimbaud, 'Une Saison en Enfer', in *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris 1972).

(military) and Christian (religious). These three phases were for Nietzsche decadent because they disciplined the will of the people instead of liberating it either towards creation or towards destruction.

Western civilization, in Nietzsche's view, was undergoing the reverse process: from 'Christian' otherworldliness, to 'Roman' militarism to 'Hellenistic' criticism to a new tragic age and then perhaps to a new kind of barbarism. This new barbarism would be different from the original one since the people would enjoy freedom and power which their ancestors never enjoyed before. In this respect, Nietzsche's conception of history ceases to be exclusively cyclical. The historical changes for him meant a revitalization and a purification from the previous illusions. Viewing the history of western man from this perspective Nietzsche believed that it followed a progressive movement from mere existence through alienation to reconciliation as did the Tragic agon on the stage. This reconciliation which Nietzsche envisioned was not with 'nature', that is with a return to a primitive or barbaric state, or with 'society' but with the self. At the end the profit of such an agon lies in the attainment of a new level of self-consciousness.

In general terms Cavafy's views coincide with those of Nietzsche in that western society could not return to barbarism, as many had predicted, simply because the Barbarians in the usual sense did not exist. The new barbarism bears no relation to the old one; it is more cleansing and self-conscious. Nor could the barbarians be taken as one of the redemptive aims of history on its course to the absolute. The critical conception of history which underlies Nietzsche's thought and Cavafy's poems does not have as its centre the absolute and the unattainable but constant self-consciousness and critical interrogation. In 'Trojans' and 'The City' Cavafy expresses people's desire for achievement or change which would ultimately lead to self-awareness.

Καινούριους τόπους δέν θά βρεῖς, δέν θάβρεις ἄλλες θάλασσες.
Ἡ πόλις θά σέ ἀκολουθεῖ. Στούς δρόμους θά γυρνᾷς
τούς ἴδιους. Καί στές γειτονιές τές ἰδies θά γερνᾷς
καί μέσ στά ἴδια σπίτια αὐτά θ' ἄσπριζεις.

For many critics these lines expressed a pessimistic resignation. Nevertheless this sense of failure seems to result from a historical

awareness and scepticism which outweighs the conception of history as a linear and unobstructed progress. The same mood is released by the following verses from 'Ithaka':

Κι ἂν πτωχική τήν βρεῖς, ἡ Ἰθάκη δέν σέ γέλασε.
Ἔτσι σοφός πού ἔγινες, μέ τόση πείρα,
ἦδη θά τό κατάλαβες ἡ Ἰθάκες τί σημαίνουν.

These verses encapsulate Nietzsche's idea of an exciting and adventurous journey in pursuit of the perils of history.

"Mindful of this situation in which *youth* finds itself I cry Land! Land! Enough and more than enough of the wild and erring voyage over strange dark seas! At last a coast appears in sight: we must land on it whatever it may be like, and the worst of harbours is better than to go reeling back into a hopeless infinity of scepticism. Let us only make land; later on we shall find good harbours right enough, and make the landfall easier for those who come after us.

This voyage was perilous and exciting. How far we still are from the quiet contemplativeness with which we first watched our ship put out. In pursuit of the perils of history we have found ourselves most acutely exposed to them."²⁹

In 'Waiting for the Barbarians' Cavafy evokes Nietzsche by rejecting the cyclical conception of history which was quite widespread particularly in the nineteenth century with Burckhardt and Mommsen and culminated at the beginning of the twentieth century in the philosophies of history of Spengler and Toynbee. He makes a parody out of the mythology of salvation and negates messianic consolation. By denying the existence of barbarians Cavafy tries to go beyond Good and Evil to surpass this moral distinction which at a cultural level takes the form of noble and barbarian or as Nietzsche has put it "The noble races have everywhere left in their wake the catchword 'barbarian'."³⁰ Nietzsche also argued that what is new is treated as "evil, being that which wants to conquer and overthrow the old boundary markers and the old pieties; and only what is old is good."³¹

29. Fr. Nietzsche, 'On the uses and disadvantages of history for life' in *Untimely Meditations*, tr. R.J. Hollingdale (Cambridge 1983) 116. Another passage from Nietzsche reminds me of Cavafy's *Ithaka*: "One day we reach our goal, and now point with pride to the long travels we undertook to reach it. In fact, we were not even aware of travelling. But we got so far because we fancied at every point that we were at home". *The Gay Science*, *op cit.*, 216.

30. Fr. Nietzsche, *The Genealogy of Morals*, tr. Francis Golffing (New York 1956) 175.

31. Fr. Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*, 79.

The association of the evil with the new shows why the Barbarians were often depicted as an evil and subversive force. In the poem, however, the Barbarians emerge as an expedient and indispensable power and in that view Cavafy coincides with Nietzsche's refusal to accept any simplistic contrast of good and evil. For the latter the traditional valuations of these two opposing elements overlooked the fact that both are useful and species-preserving and only their function is merely different.

Nevertheless, the poem emphasizes the opposition between the aristocracy of the emperor, of the senators, consuls and praetors who try to impress, deceive or corrupt the invaders with their wealth and their appearance (sparkling rings, magnificent emeralds, elegant canes), and the formless and massive force of the barbarians.³² The cunning skill and rhetoric of the aristocracy are constantly contrasted with the naivety of the outsiders. Yet the dialogic form of the poem fosters this opposition, since the person who puts the questions seems to be identified with the senators whereas the voice which gives the answers supposedly acts as a kind of spokesman for barbarians' intentions and habits. Even though the word 'barbarians' is mentioned ten times in the poem it occurs only in the answers and not in the questions. It seems that by stressing the opposition of these different elements in the poem Cavafy brings to the fore the interdependence of the 'same' and 'other' in which the 'same' is dignified by the 'other'.³³

32. The way the city's officials in the poem are prepared to welcome the barbarians evokes again Nietzsche's speculations about the results of a possible contact between a lower culture (barbarians) and a higher one: "What happens when barbarians come into contact with a higher culture — the lower culture always accepts first of all the vices, weaknesses, and excesses and only then, on that basis, finds a certain attraction in the higher culture and eventually, by way of the vices and weaknesses that it has acquired, also accepts some of the overflow of what really has value." *The Gay Science*, 152.

33. Hayden White, in his attempt to reconstruct the genealogy of the Wild Man myth, argues that concepts such as barbarism and wildness "arise out of the need for men to dignify their specific mode of existence by contrasting it with those of other men, real or imagined, who merely differed from themselves" ('The Forms of Wildness: Archaeology of an Idea', in E. Dudley & M.F. Novak, eds., *The Wild Man within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism* (Pittsburgh 1972) 5. He also points out that the Wild Man and the barbarian represented different kinds of threats especially during the Middle Ages. The former represented a threat to individual whereas the latter a threat to society to civilization and to racial excellence.

He seemingly revolts against this age-old distinction between 'same' and 'other' where the complacency, security and superiority of the 'same' relies on the inferiority, exteriority and latent hostility of the 'other'. At the same time, however, he admits the inevitability of the polarity, the necessity for every culture to invent its contrasting image to build up a fictive solution to find a soothing remedy to its anxiety. The desire for and the constant elusiveness of the 'other' interconnect many of Cavafy's poems, and the method of attaining or arresting this 'otherness' is effected either through memory and imagination or through myth. At the end, the mythology of the 'other' is proved essential since it offers excitement and affirmation; whereas its absence brings bewilderment and confusion.

Γιατί ν' ἀρχίσει μονομιᾶς αὐτὴ ἡ ἀνησυχία
κ' ἡ σύγχυσις. (Τὰ πρόσωπα τί σοβαρά πού ἔγιναν).

Cavafy points to the idea that our civilization cannot escape from revolving around the anticipation of the 'other', the outside, the evil and the perpetual postponement of this anticipation. The interplay lies at the basis of the existence of modern man, exacerbating from time to time his cultural uncertainty, as, for example, occurred at the end of the nineteenth century.

Moreover, Cavafy's barbarians seem to symbolize the search in Europe for social myths which would save it from decadence and could give its lost vitality. At first sight Cavafy gives the impression that he agrees with Durkheim's argument that societies always need collective myths in order to survive and that these were exactly what the Europeans of the late nineteenth century lacked. To this absence of myths Durkheim attributed the increase in suicides and the decline of contemporary societies.³⁴ Whereas Durkheim searched for causes and rather optimistic underpinnings Cavafy appears to be cynical and demythologizing with his pragmatic scepticism. The barbarians who could perhaps legislate and remove society from the *anomie*, which according to Durkheim plagued her, do not exist.

The mythology of the barbarians, is perhaps also undermined in Cavafy's poem for other reasons. We must not forget that

34. See Emile Durkheim's *Le Suicide* (1897) and his thesis *De la division du travail social* (1893).

towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries the new science of anthropology emerges. People and places outside Europe are treated differently; terms with a derogatory meaning such as barbarians or wild men retreat and are replaced by the rather neutral terminology of primitivism. The eurocentric conception of civilization as the creation of the old continent and the treatment of other people as a menace to this supreme creation receives several onslaughts from the emerging anthropological theories. The barbarians gradually cease to fuel the cultural arrogance of the Europeans or to play the role of a standby revitalizing force but the anxiety about the decline of the West continues even into the early twentieth century. To this drama of Europe and its cultural deadlock at the turn of the last century Cavafy's poem 'Waiting for the Barbarians' constitutes the only Greek contribution which takes a critical stance summarizing this historical crisis epigrammatically:

Καί τώρα τί θά γένουμε χωρίς Βαρβάρους.
Οἱ ἄνθρωποι αὐτοί ἦσαν μιά κάποια λύσις.

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Linkage Politics: the Role of the European Community in Greek Politics in 1973*

SUSANNAH VERNEY, PANOS TSAKALOYANNIS

The convulsions which began to shake the Greek military regime with the first student protests at the end of 1972 and which reached their climax in 1973 with the uprising at the Polytechnic in November, have been exhaustively analysed and discussed. However, they have always been viewed either through the prism of internal political developments or in the light of events in Cyprus. The international context remains largely unexplored.

The only element which has been taken into account is the 'American factor', yet the reasons for the change in American policy towards the regime in the Autumn of 1973 have not been sufficiently analysed. Such testimony as we have comes from representatives of the Greek or American governments. Spyros Markezinis, the junta's civilian Prime Minister, attributes the fall of his government to the war in the Middle East.¹ Certainly, Kissinger in his memoirs does not conceal his displeasure at the junta's refusal to facilitate the transportation of war materiel to Israel at the most critical phase of the Arab-Israeli War in the Autumn of 1973.²

* This is a substantially revised version of an article by P. Tsakaloyannis which first appeared in Greek in *Politis* 63-64 (November-December 1983).

1. Spyros Markezinis, *Anamniseis 1972-1974* (Athens 1979) 468-478.

2. Henry Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval* (Boston, Toronto 1972) 708-709.

However, it would be somewhat hazardous to claim that the situation in the Middle East was the major external factor influencing the events leading to Ioannides' coup on 25th November 1973. This argument underestimates the importance of political mobilization in Greece, particularly the student movement. Papadopoulos' declaration on June 1st 1973 that Greece was to become a 'presidential parliamentary republic' with elections to be held in 1974 under the supervision of a civilian government, was undoubtedly largely due to internal developments. Yet events such as the occupation of the Athens Law Faculty in March 1973 and the defection of the cruiser *Velos* to Italy in May, did not happen by a process of spontaneous combustion. They were part of a movement of unrest, developing within a wider international framework.

Of course, developments in national politics rarely happen in isolation. Events on the international plane are not external to domestic politics, but play a role in shaping them. A body with the economic and political weight of the European Community is bound to be an effective factor, and particularly so during its heyday in the early 1970s. In the case of Greece, the events taking place in Western Europe in the early 1970s (notably the EC's first Enlargement) were bound to have a profound impact. The main purpose of this article is to examine precisely the consequences of these events in Western Europe for Greece's domestic politics.³

Unlike the more simplistic interpretation of 'foreign interference' which tends to exaggerate the role of American involvement in modern Greece, in this case reality is more complicated. For just as most Greeks saw in intervention by the Community the possibility of removing the military regime, so the enlarged Community, aware of its enhanced role, tried to test its new strength by attempting to shape events in Greece. For as Michael Leigh points out, 'The EEC has introduced new stakes into the political life of its members. European issues can be

manipulated to serve partisan ends, even where the origins of domestic conflict have nothing to do with the Community. The injection of such issues into an otherwise even competition for authority can tilt the balance.'⁴ The traffic is two-way, and this is not an isolated example of EC questions spilling over to high politics.

The European Community since its inception has expressed its keen interest in the Mediterranean, 'the soft underbelly' of Northern Europe, to use Churchill's phrase; regarded as Western Europe's *mare nostrum*, in that area the USA has to recognise that the West Europeans have certain vital interests. No wonder therefore that one of the first groups for Political Cooperation of the Nine, introduced in the early 1970s, was concerned with the development of closer political and economic links with the Mediterranean countries.⁵

A manifestation of this divergence of interests was the fact that most West European countries had serious difficulties in toeing the American line on Greece during the junta. While the Americans supported the regime as a strategically important military ally, the European Community had reacted to the coup of 21st April 1967 by deciding to 'freeze' Greece's Association Agreement to its 'current administration'. On 10th May 1967 the Greek situation was debated in the European Parliament, where the installation of military rule in a European country was strongly condemned.

Any hopes the regime might have had that the Community attitude would change over the years proved unfounded. In May 1972, the Commission stressed that it continued to regard 'the return to democracy in Greece' as 'one of the basic conditions of association'. Until this was fulfilled, 'nothing is to be done beyond current operation of the Agreement'.⁶ At this time, however, the United States was negotiating an agreement which allowed the Sixth Fleet permanent use of 'Home Port' facilities in Greece. Thus, for many Greeks the United States were fur-

3. The literature on this particular issue is rather sparse. Those works which are available cover the whole period of the dictatorship and concentrate on the freezing of the Association Agreement. The best study available in English is still George N. Yannopoulos, *Greece and the European Communities: The First Decade of a Troubled Association* (Sage Research Paper, Berkeley Hills and London 1975). See also the descriptive article by Van Confoadakis, 'The European Economic Community and the 'Freezing' of the Greek Association', *Journal of Common Market Studies* (1977).

4. Michael Leigh, 'Linkage Politics: The French Referendum and the Paris Summit of 1972', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 16/2 (1975) 158.

5. For an analysis of the EC's formulation of Mediterranean policy in the early 1970s, see Avi Schlaim and G.N. Yannopoulos (eds), *The EEC and the Mediterranean Countries* (Cambridge 1976).

6. *Commission Press Release* (Brussels 12th May 1972) Files of EEC Press and Information Office, London.

ther discredited whereas Western Europe and the EC became a more attractive proposition.

The more independent attitude of the European Community towards the United States in the late 1960s was formed in a climate of anxiety in Western Europe following the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, Kissinger's multi-dimensional foreign policy based on detente with the Soviet Union and China, and the continuing American involvement in Vietnam. These events created uncertainty and fears of a new Yalta or at least a progressive American withdrawal from Europe.⁷ Under these circumstances, the problem of stability in the Mediterranean region acquired particular significance for the European Community. As far as Greece was concerned, it should be stressed that the Western Europeans did not aim at an American withdrawal, for this was both impractical and inadvisable. However, they had a different assessment of the consequences of the continuation of military rule on political stability in Greece.

In any event, by the Spring of 1972 the military regime was beginning to show signs of weakness. In the economic sphere, the relative prosperity of the late 1960s was receding and in 1973 Greece experienced an inflation rate of over 30%. The effects of this were political unrest and a feeling of unease with the Colonels. This crisis coincided with increasing economic dependence on the EEC. In 1972, Greece's imports from the Nine rose by 10.5% and exports by over 27%.⁸ The Nine provided 55% of Greece's total imports and took 61% of her exports. There was no credible alternative trading-partner: the United States in 1972 provided only 6% of Greek imports and took less than 10% of her exports. Moreover, the regime's diplomatic overtures towards Eastern Europe had come to little. Indeed the 'multi-dimensional' foreign policy (openings to the Arab states, Africa, Eastern Europe and even China) pursued after the regime's expulsion from the Council of Europe in December 1969, had dispelled any illusions that Greece had any choice other than the orientation towards Western Europe.⁹

7. Senator Mansfield's resolution in 1971, calling for a total withdrawal of American troops from Europe, had caused consternation.

8. All figures based on information supplied by the National Statistical Service of Greece.

9. On the junta's foreign policy initiatives, see A.G. Xydis, 'The Military Regime's

Yet as a non-member of the EEC, Greece had no control over the decisions being taken in Brussels which had serious repercussions for the country's economy. This was underlined in November 1972 with the announcement of the Community's new Mediterranean policy, which inevitably undermined further the 'frozen' Association Agreement and resulted in the progressive exclusion of Greek agricultural produce from West European markets, to the benefit of her competitors. Greece simply could not afford to allow the balance-of-trade with the EEC to worsen; in 1971 the trade deficit with the Nine exceeded the total value of the country's exports. Thus Greece was particularly vulnerable to pressure from the EC. The Colonels were caught in a dilemma. Either they had to reduce imports from the Community to alleviate the country's worsening balance-of-payments (which would have exacerbated public discontent); or Greece had to expand its exports to the Nine which meant coming to an accommodation with Brussels. This is a classic example of low politics spilling over to high politics.

That the EC's growing links with the Mediterranean strengthened Turkey's position was a matter of added concern for Greece. In July 1971 the EC signed an 'Interim Agreement' allowing some of the provisions of the Association Agreement with Turkey to be put into practice earlier than had been specified in the Ankara Treaty. In the 'Additional Protocol' signed in November 1970, the EC had agreed to consult with Turkey in the course of European Political Cooperation. The improvement in Turkey's position in relation to the Community came at a time when not only was Greece's position being eroded due to the freezing of the Association Agreement, but also Greek-Turkish relations were coming under strain as a consequence of the renewed conflict in Cyprus and the discovery of oil in the Aegean.

The dangers for Greece of remaining a political pariah on the margins of Western Europe were intensified by the fact that in the early 1970s the very nature of the European Community appeared to be changing. The accession of Britain, Denmark and Ireland on 1st January 1973 not only enhanced the economic

Foreign Policy,' in R. Clogg and G.N. Yannopoulos (eds.), *Greece Under Military Rule* (London 1972) 191-210.

weight of the Community; it also increased the potential for political cooperation. This had been precluded in the past, especially in 1960-62, by the refusal of some countries, notably Holland, to participate in any form of political cooperation which did not include Britain (*Préalable Anglais*).¹⁰

Thus, as the Communiqué of the Heads of State and Government meeting at the Hague in December 1969 declared, 'The Community has now arrived at a turning-point in its history'.¹¹ With the Customs Union between the Six about to enter its final stage, 'The irreversible nature of the work accomplished by the Communities' would provide the basis for 'progress in the matter of political cooperation'. The Luxembourg Report of October 1970 established regular European Political Cooperation to allow Member States to 'consult on all important questions of foreign policy' and 'to strengthen their solidarity . . . where it appears possible and desirable [by] common actions' in this sphere.

Further progress was made at the Paris Summit in October 1972, when the Member States declared their determination to establish an Economic and Monetary Union and, even more significantly, had 'set themselves the major task of transforming . . . the whole complex of the relations of the Member States into a European Union' by 1980.

It is worth noting that the attitude of the junta to these developments was a far cry from the cynicism the regime displayed following the expulsion from the Council of Europe, which the Colonels described as 'the coffeehouse of Europe'. The use of the Greek word, 'kafeneion', implied that this was a place where there was plenty of talk but no action. In contrast, the EC had economic teeth and, therefore, could not be ignored. Thus in December 1972 Papadopoulos declared categorically, 'As regards our foreign policy: geographically, politically and economically we belong to Europe. And it is from within Europe that we are called on to develop our life in the future.'¹² Makarezos, speaking to the Union of Foreign Press Correspondents the following

month reiterated that, 'We belong to Europe and struggle with all our might for the European ideals'.¹³

However, the Luxembourg Report had emphasised that membership of the European Communities would be open only to 'democratic states having freely elected Parliaments'. This message was firmly repeated in the first paragraph of the Paris Communiqué which declared that 'The Member States reaffirm their determination to base the development of the Community on democracy, freedom of opinion, the free movement of people and of ideals, and participation by their people through freely elected representatives'.¹⁴ One month earlier, the Community had issued a statement that, regarding Greece, 'the basic position of the Commission remained unchanged' and relations would continue to be limited to 'current administration' of the Association Agreement until the restoration of democracy.¹⁵

The attitude towards the regime was made even more explicit at the 'Fanfare for Europe', a celebration to mark Britain's accession to the Community, broadcast live to the whole of Western Europe on January 3rd 1973. In the presence of the Queen, the British Prime Minister, Heads of State and Community officials, the actor, Laurence Olivier, made an astonishing statement in which, referring to the great moments Europe was living through, he drew attention to the lack of political freedom in the Colonels' Greece. To make his point, he produced and read a letter from 'a Greek political prisoner', afterwards attributed to Professor Mangakis. In his letter, Mangakis described in grim detail the political situation in Greece and the living conditions of the regime's political detainees. Olivier's action naturally caused a sensation. To begin with, his revelations came as a total surprise to millions of spectators all over Western Europe. Needless to say, his comments were extremely embarrassing for the regime.

However, for the purpose of this paper the pertinent question is *why* Lord Olivier should have taken such a drastic step. It seems most unlikely he would have made such a statement at a formal celebration without higher authority. It is rather unlikely that he acted on the spur of the moment: as he admitted, Mangakis' letter had been sent, to an unknown recipient, nine months

10. The most complete work on the domestic politics of the Six at that time and on the question of Britain's entry is Susanne J. Bodenheimer, *Political Union: A Microcosm of European Politics 1960-66* (Leyden 1967).

11. This and following quotations from *European Political Cooperation (EPC)* (Bonn 1982). Their translation leaves something to be desired.

12. *Akropolis* (17 December 1972).

13. *To Vima* (19 January 1973).

14. *European Political Cooperation*, *op. cit.*

15. *Europe* (18-19 September 1972).

previously. It must be emphasised that Lord Olivier had no previous record of involvement in opposition to the Greek regime. He had not even signed a petition or letter of protest. Nor for that matter did he display any further interest after January 1973.

Therefore one is led to the conclusion that Lord Olivier did not act on his own initiative but rather, through him, the Western Europeans wanted to embarrass the Greek government and bring pressure to bear on the regime. That the junta recognised the implications of the challenge is indicated by its unusually guarded response to this incident. In contrast to its dismissive attitude towards the Council of Europe in 1969, Athens now restricted itself to a mild formal protest to the British Government, and it then allowed the matter to rest.

Even more significantly, Makarezos declared at a press conference two weeks later that he believed 'the other European countries would not wish to punish Greece, the Greek people and the Revolution [sic], for political reasons and not allow the country to become a member of the united European area. But in any case the government believes that this pretext (i.e. military rule) will soon be removed'.¹⁶

The implications of Makarezos' statement are self-evident. The need for a political solution became even more apparent to the regime when well-known personalities from the pre-1967 period began to seize on the EC issue as a way of exerting pressure for the restoration of democracy. Less than two weeks after the October 1972 Paris Summit, Xenophon Zolotas, a leading economist and former Governor of the Bank of Greece, published an article in the newspaper, *To Vima*, declaring that Greece had reached a 'crucial crossroads'. The European countries were contemplating 'the promotion of political cooperation which will lead ultimately to a certain degree of political union of the countries of Europe. Greece, which is a Western European country more than any other place in the Eastern Mediterranean . . . cannot remain outside'. Maintaining that the Greek people were essentially democratic and wanted the restoration of democratic institutions, he concluded, 'The stipulation of the EEC constitutes an additional reason for the restoration of democracy in Greece'.¹⁷

16. *To Vima* (19 January 1973).

17. *To Vima* (8 November 1973).

This was only the first in a series of similar declarations published in the Greek press over the coming months. Personalities such as J. Pasmazoglou, the leader of the team which had negotiated Greece's Association Agreement, George Mavros, a former politician, and Adamantios Pepelassis, a well-known economist, all wrote on a common theme. They claimed that Western Europe had begun to acquire an important role in the world and was moving towards unification. Similarly, they stressed the Community's new potential, both political and economic, following the 1973 Enlargement. This was accompanied by arguments that the economic strength of the Nine would increase rapidly in the future. Their unanimous conclusion was that in the light of these developments, Greece had no alternative other than to try to achieve full membership as soon as possible.¹⁸

What is notable is that the junta, perhaps for the first time, did not resort to repressive measures nor did it try to silence this current of thought. On the contrary, at least indirectly, it encouraged it by statements such as those of Papadopoulos and Makarezos cited above. It was only after the Ioannides coup that any discussion of Greece's relations with the EC was stopped again.

The significance the EC had assumed as an issue in Greek politics in 1973 is indicated by the attitudes adopted by Andreas Papandreou and Constantine Karamanlis, the two most prominent figures in post-1974 politics.

It must be emphasised that Andreas Papandreou was not against Greece's Association with the Community in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Even during the first years of the dictatorship, he avoided any criticism of the EC. On the contrary, until 1973 Andreas Papandreou assigned an important role to the European members of NATO as a lever to exert pressure on Washington. For instance, in a book published in 1972, he wrote that, 'The Western Europeans would not easily countenance a return to totalitarianism in their midst'.¹⁹ The Americans naturally supported the junta as it was simply a 'creation of the US military and intelligence services'²⁰ but there was a 'subtle behind-the-

18. See for example, *To Vima* (20 January 1972 and 20 May 1973).

19. Andreas G. Papandreou, *Democracy at Gunpoint: The Greek Case* (London 1972) 309.

20. International Conference for the Abolition of the Dictatorship in Greece (Paris

surface [sic] confrontation'²¹ between the United States and Western Europe which could be exploited in the struggle against the junta. Resistance strategy should develop around two poles: 'the development of a solid, dynamic liberation movement' within Greece and the insistence of the West European governments that their continued participation in NATO was dependent on the United States withdrawing its support from the junta.²²

In March 1972, Papandreou was still considering ways of making 'effective use of the contradictions between the expansionist policies of the United States and the independence of the nation members' of NATO.²³ Yet by September 1973, he appeared completely disillusioned with Western Europe. The whole weight of resistance was now to be on 'the total mobilization of all the freedom fighters': there was no meaning any longer in pleas to governments abroad or in protests to international organizations.²⁴ This is a break with his previous strategy which, based on the support of Western Europe, did not question Greece's Western orientation.

His change in attitude was accompanied by an altered evaluation of the European Community. In an interview in the PAK newsletter, *Exodos*, published in February 1973, he categorically rejected the EC as 'a structure which expresses and supports the contemporary monopoly capital of Western Europe.' This had at least three consequences: first, it confirmed the hegemony of American capital in Greece; second, it helped to turn the Mediterranean into a colony; and third, it created institutions which supported and strengthened NATO. For these reasons 'it is inconceivable for an independent and socialist Greece to be associated with the EEC'.²⁵ A few days later, speaking on the German radio station, Deutsche Welle, Papandreou used more diplomatic language but made it clear that 'in the Greece we plan to create after the dictatorship, the Greek people will have the right to re-examine all the country's international relations, in-

cluding relations with the EEC, with the criterion of the long-term interests of the nation.'²⁶

The question of Greek accession to the EC had clearly become an issue for Papandreou in 1973. His negative attitude was probably influenced not only by his disappointment at the failure of the European government to take more decisive action against the Greek regime, but also by concern at the kind of government that might replace it. By 1973 it was becoming apparent that the junta could not continue for much longer in its present form. The declared aim of Papandreou's Panhellenic Liberation Movement (PAK) was the overthrow of the junta by 'a gigantic warlike liberation movement' which would lay the foundations for 'a new democratic socialist Greece'.²⁷ However, it seemed that Papandreou was about to be pre-empted, either by the junta moving towards a form of 'guided democracy' to avert exclusion from the proposed European Union, or else by a Centre-Right government formed by the political figures who were publicly calling for the restoration of democracy on the grounds this would facilitate Greek accession to the EC.

Neither solution appealed to Papandreou. For him, a regime which continued to acknowledge the hegemony of NATO was 'simply a change of hat, a change in the form of American occupation, in which we have no reason to participate'.²⁸ Of course, it is unlikely anyway that the Centre-Right politicians would have invited him to participate unless he dropped his radical stance. The fact that Papandreou's political opponents were using the issue of EC accession to back their case was enough to make the Community a threat to his proposed socialist alternative. Thus it is in the context of Greek political developments in 1973 that the foundations are laid for the anti-EC policy Andreas Papandreou was to follow after the restoration of democracy in July 1974.

Similarly striking as an illustration of the significance accession had acquired as an issue in Greek politics in 1973 is the now famous 'open letter' of Karamanlis to the regime, published in the Greek newspapers, *Vradyni* and *Thessaloniki* on 23rd April.

March 1972), 'Report of the PAK National Council', *PAK File*, Archive of the Modern Greek Department, King's College, London.

21. *Democracy at Gunpoint*, op. cit., 318.

22. Untitled pamphlet (1970), *PAK File*, King's College Archive.

23. 'International Conference' (March 1972), op. cit., *PAK File*.

24. Interview in *Apoyevmatini* (6 September 1973).

25. *Exodos* (5 February 1973).

26. Reprinted in *Apo to PAK sto PASOK: Logoi, Arthra, Synentexeis, Diloseis tou Andrea Papandreou* (Athens 1976) 21-22.

27. 'Draft Aims of PAK' (June 1971), *PAK File*, King's College Archive.

28. Statement of 28th July 1973, reprinted in *Apo to PAK sto PASOK*, op. cit., 47.

The regime reacted so strongly to this statement that all copies of the two papers were withdrawn. The order was carried out with such efficiency that today even Greece's National Library does not possess one. So although Karamanlis' letter is widely referred to, its content is relatively unknown. A closer examination of the letter leaves little doubt the EC was Karamanlis' main preoccupation when he wrote it.

The obvious reason why the Colonels reacted in such a panic-stricken fashion to Karamanlis' letter, in contrast to their tolerant if not encouraging attitude to the various views expressed by other supporters of the EC, is that Karamanlis, living in exile in Paris, did not confine himself to a diplomatic language which required his audience to read between the lines. Instead, he embarked upon a scathing attack *tout court* on the regime's record. It must be pointed out that Karamanlis was aware time was running short for Greece, thus he could not afford to become a part of the cat-and-mouse game being acted out between the Colonels and their pro-EC critics.

According to Karamanlis, during the six years of military rule, the junta had exposed Greece to many dangers. Generally, Karamanlis blamed the regime for economic decline, the disintegration of the administration, the church and education, and the threat of civil war in Cyprus for which the regime bore a heavy responsibility. 'But the most serious of all these dangers is the threatened complete separation of Greece from Europe. I have the painful impression that the Greeks, and particularly the government, do not fully comprehend the significance of a unifying Europe. They do not understand that this accession, which is in danger of being nullified — if it has not been nullified already — because of the present regime, would radically transform the fate of our people. Because in this way Greece . . . would achieve not only her economic and social assimilation into Europe, but also the safeguarding of her national security. Because accession would free Greece from the danger of local war which has been and remains the nightmare of modern Greece'.

The statement was strongly worded, including criticism of the United States for its part in the 'deception' of the Greek people. Although Karamanlis had issued a declaration criticising the military regime in October 1967, he had not made any public pronouncements since then. It is significant that he chose this par-

ticular moment to break his silence and deliver a stinging attack on the military regime, accusing them of suppressing human rights and defrauding the Greek people with demagogy, practices they had been indulging in for the previous six years. The threat of isolation from Western Europe was for Karamanlis too serious a danger to be allowed to pass without remark. For he believed that 'Europeanization, in its best meaning, could become the new Great Idea of the Nation'. The comparison with the dream of a revived Byzantine Empire which had constituted the main foreign policy aim of the Greek state during its first century of independence, underlines the weight he attached to Greek accession.

Thus whereas for Papandreou, the EC spelled economic and political subjugation, for Karamanlis it became the new vision badly needed to restore the morale of the Greeks after six years of humiliating military rule. Also significant is the fact that whereas Greece's first 'Great Idea' had pointed Eastwards, the new one was directed towards the West. The implications of this new orientation are almost incalculable. To begin with, it implied that instead of rebuilding her lost Byzantine Empire, Greece was to turn Westwards and acquire new importance by joining the EC as an equal member with the Western Europeans. This involved overcoming the centuries-old suspicions the Greeks had of the Western Europeans (dating back to the Crusades). No wonder that one of Karamanlis' first diplomatic steps after 1974 was to try to establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican for the first time. No wonder, too, that this initiative of his encountered stiff opposition from the Greek Orthodox Church.²⁹

By 1973, the pre-1967 Centre and Right had been riven for years by internal dissension. The issue of Greek accession became for them a unifying factor, for it was something on which they could all agree. However, it was also more than that.

In the years immediately preceding the coup and particularly after the dismissal of George Papandreou's government in July 1965, Greek politics had been characterised by instability. King Constantine had tried to split the Centre Union and form a minority government he could control. The resulting political deals, which for some months were unable to produce a government capable of securing a majority in Parliament, were rather

29. See Dimitrios Bitsios, *Pera Apo ta Synora 1974-77* (Athens, Estia 1982) 191-202.

discreditable to the two major parties, the Centre Union and the National Radical Union. A return to government by precisely these same figures did not appear an alluring prospect after six years of military rule.

The rise of the student movement was testimony to the radicalising effect of the dictatorship. During the junta new forces had appeared on the left. Prior to the coup, the left wing in Greece had been largely restricted to the Communist Party. The United Democratic Left which contested elections and held seats in Parliament was dominated by members of the illegal KKE. But during the dictatorship, major political upheavals on the left had caused a split in the KKE and the formation of a Eurocommunist Party (the KKE-Interior) in competition with the orthodox KKE. Also in 1968 Andreas Papandreou formed PAK (the Panhellenic Liberation Movement). PAK soon moved decisively leftwards, a reflection no doubt of increasing radicalism in the country.

At the same time, Greece was swept by a wave of anti-Americanism, the Pentagon and the CIA being widely held responsible for the imposition of military rule in Greece. The strength of this feeling is demonstrated by the fact that Karamanlis felt obliged to withdraw the country from the military command structure of NATO in the Autumn of 1974. For those politicians who wanted a return to bourgeois parliamentary government in the context of an orientation towards the West, a new 'Great Idea' was urgently needed; they began to promote the EC as an alternative to the United States. As Karamanlis declared in the *Vradyni* letter, membership of the Community would mean Greece no longer needed 'to seek strong protectors at the expense of her national independence.'

There are distinct similarities with the situation of the British Conservative Party in the early 1960s. Describing the attempt to combat the rise of Harold Wilson, a Central Office official declared, 'Europe was to be our *'deus ex machina'*; it was to create a new contemporary political argument with insular Socialism . . . act as a catalyst of modernisation (and) give us a new place in the international sun'.³⁰ No wonder that in both countries, such a sizeable section of public opinion is against the EC, when

membership has proved to be less than the promised panacea for all ills.

The pro-European crusade widened the gulf between the politicians of the old Centre and Andreas Papandreou. In reaction to what he described as 'the haste which Greece has shown to enter the EEC' and its 'prolonged embraces' with the Community,³¹ his own anti-EC statements were marked by an increasingly radical tone.

Thus, one of the most serious consequences of the EC's emergence as an issue in Greek domestic politics in 1973, was that the attitude to the Community became, and remained, largely subordinated to party political considerations. For both the pro- and anti-EC forces, the question became a matter of principle. Both sides adopted absolute positions, with the declaration, 'We belong to the West', opposed to the equally categorical statement, 'No to the Europe of the monopolies' or 'EEC and NATO, the same syndicate' ('EOK kai NATO, to idio syndikato'). Thus the political parties approached the subject of Greek accession after 1974 with pre-determined policies, which were not based on a calm consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of Greek accession.

The discussion took place in a somewhat unreal atmosphere. For example, all parties assumed that it was simply a question of Greece deciding whether or not it wanted full membership: there was little consideration of the difficulties involved in Greek accession. Equally, the problems Greece was going to come across once a member of the Community were played down by one side as mere 'technicalities', whereas the other side prophesied an approaching catastrophe. Alternative forms of relationship with the EC were hardly considered. For example, Papandreou's ideas of a special relationship with Brussels more akin to the Norwegian or Yugoslav examples were dismissed by his opponents, as his suggestions were seen as diversionary tactics to keep the Nine at arms' length. Finally, Karamanlis and his advisers, in their enthusiasm to join the EC, underestimated the Nine's reaction to their appeals for a rapid accession.

In fact, the Commission in its 'Opinion' of January 1976 proved less than enthusiastic about the prospect of Greek membership, proposing a long transitional period and calling for an

31. *Proceedings of the Greek Parliament* (12 April 1976) 5449.

30. Quoted in T.F. Lindsay and Michael Harrington, *The Conservative Party 1918-1979* (London 1979) 214.

improvement in Greek-Turkish relations. Even during the dictatorship, the Community had adopted a somewhat ambiguous attitude towards Greek membership. While on the one hand, the Western Europeans applied pressure for the democratisation of the regime, on the other they had adopted a cautious policy regarding Greek accession. For instance, Ralph Dahrendorf in an interview in February 1973, expressed the Commission's guarded response when he said that future Greek-EC relations would develop 'according to the conclusions drawn from a re-examination (by the EC) of the then situation'.³² It must be said that this and other similar warnings were almost completely ignored by the Greek pro-Marketters. In the prevailing highly-charged atmosphere, they could not see clearly that the Community was playing its own game and that its objectives in Greece were not necessarily identical with their own. The fact that in the early 1970s the Nine were expanding their relations with Turkey's military regime, which can by no means be considered as more benevolent than that of the Colonels, did raise some eyebrows in Athens. Yet the Greek pro-Marketters did not draw the logical conclusion from this: that the nature of Greece's regime was not the only issue for the Nine in considering Greek accession.

Thus, without making any commitment to eventual Greek membership, the Nine tried to influence the situation in Greece in 1973 by making it clear that an improvement in EC-Greek relations was incompatible with the continuation of military rule. In this way, they exerted pressure on the regime and gave a useful weapon to its opponents, who could press for a return to democracy on the grounds that this was a pre-condition for accession. Whether the Nine in taking these steps in 1972-73 were aware of the long-term effects of their actions is a moot point. But by associating themselves so closely with the pro-EC lobby in Greece at that time, the Nine found it hard to ignore their pleas for full membership after the restoration of democracy. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that Greece's accession to the Community has left many salient issues unresolved.

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32. *Oikonomikos Tachydromos* (22 February 1973).
NB All translations from Greek are our own.

Short Notes

The Cosmic Symbolism of the Cross and the Emperor in Ptochoprodromos, Poem IV.

ZAGA GAVRILOVIĆ

This article comments on the symbolic imagery concerning the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos in Ptochoprodromos, Poem IV and on the ideology on which that imagery is based, with references to the parallels provided by certain representations in Byzantine art.

Although published separately, my article is intended as an additional note to the study by Margaret Alexiou *The Poverty of Écriture and the Craft of Writing* which appears in this volume of BMGS.

My interest in the subject and the observations which follow were stimulated by the collective work on the analysis of Ptochoprodromos' Poem IV in the course of a Text Seminar at the Centre for Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham in 1983-1984, and by the lively exchanges of views at those meetings in which I had the pleasure to take part.

In Ptochoprodromos' Poem IV the greatest number of religious references and liturgical parallels coincide with his addresses to the emperor (lines 1a-1ccc; 141-144; 149-165; 275-292).*

* The references for the quotations from the Poem throughout the article are from *Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire*, ed. D. C. Hesseling, H. Pernot (Amsterdam 1910).

The poet describes himself as a wretch, a wretched slave who has nearly been engulfed and sunk by the waves of the sea of life. He is pleading, begging, entreating for shelter and salvation — in his case for salvation from hunger and material poverty and from the demands of his creditors. He praises the emperor's Christ-like majesty, wisdom and benevolence and refers to him as the source of compassion and the gate to sympathy and mercy. Moreover he constructs a visual comparison between the emperor and the cross in order to underline not only the fact that the emperor's rule stretches over the four parts of the world but also that he reigns, or "holds the sceptre of single rule", aided by the most divine-ruling Trinity. The metaphor of this cross-shaped figure is further connected to the emperor's brightness of face and his power to reduce to ashes all adversaries (see esp. lines 1p-11l).

The way all these ideas are expressed is very reminiscent of certain liturgical hymns, especially of those contained in the Lenten Triodion. Hymns expressing precisely that sort of mournful mood — lament, exasperation, repentance, but also hope of redemption, are concentrated in the Lenten Triodion, the liturgical book used in the Orthodox Church for the period of ten weeks preceding Easter.¹ The dominant motifs of all offices for this period are the fall of man and the preparation for spiritual resurrection. The themes of the hymns are based on Psalms and Old Testament events which announce the coming of the Messiah and prefigure the life of the new man, reborn in Christ. The Kanon Odes of the Triodion are, like Psalms, hymns of praise, and as we know, Ptochoprodromos directs his praise both to Christ and to the emperor.

The structure emperor-cross (lu-l ll) deserves closer attention. Its basis is the Byzantine concept of the cosmological symbolism of the cross reaching the four parts of the world, formulated by St. Gregory of Nyssa who follows the tradition of several earlier Greek fathers.² The same ideas are reflected in liturgy, and one

1. The redaction of the Triodion, in its greatest part, was accomplished by the monks of the Studios monastery at the beginning of the 9th century. Its contents are considered to be the best expression of monastic spirituality. See E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford 1961) 140ff. J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology* (London and Oxford 1975) 124; *The Lenten Triodion*, transl. by Mother Mary and Archimandrite Kallistos Ware (London and Boston 1978).

2. G. B. Ladner, 'St. Gregory of Nyssa and St. Augustine on the symbolism of

can again detect Ptochoprodromos' drawing on a liturgical source, this time from the office of the Celebration of the Cross on the third Sunday in Lent.³

The symbolism of the cross spanning the oikoumenē is completed in Ptochoprodromos' verse by the introduction of the brilliant, fire-like face of the emperor, capable of burning, melting, reducing all enemies to ashes, thus reinforcing the power of the cross, itself a sign of victory and a universal weapon against evil.

One can suggest that this structure stems from a much earlier ideology which gave rise to a well known but fairly rare iconographic theme in Byzantine art where the emperor is represented in bust, in the centre of a cross.⁴ Although quite late, Ptochoprodromos' verses are of great value for a better understanding of this theme.

Portraits of reigning emperors appear in the centre of a cross on certain issues of coins in the 10th century (Romanos I, 921-944; Nikēphoros Phokas, 963-969; John Tzimiskēs, 969-976).⁵ (fig. 1)



Fig. 1

John I (969-976), silver miliaresion, Constantinople.

Courtesy of the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham.

the Cross', *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in honor of A.M. Friend Jr.* (Princeton 1955) 88-95.

3. The feast is also called ἡ μέση ἑβδομάς because it falls in the middle of Lent. As an example among many one can quote the following sticheron from the Canon by St. Theodore Studite: "The world venerates it and, illumined, cries aloud: 'Great is the power of the Cross! When devils look upon it, they are burnt; by the sign of the Cross they are consumed with fire' . . .". *The Lenten Triodion*, 351.

4. Two art-historical studies dealing with this iconography are by J. Deér, 'Das Kaiserbild im Kreuz', *Schweizer Beiträge z.allg. Geschichte* 13 (1955) 48-110; A. Grabar, 'La précieuse croix de la Lavra Saint-Athanase au Mont-Athos', *Cahiers Archéologiques* 19 (1969) 99-125.

5. *Catalogue of Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the*

On a 10th century ivory plaque preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, an emperor, in bust, in an attitude of prayer and turning towards the right, is represented in the centre of a large decorated cross. The plaque is a half of a diptych whose other half, with a bust of Christ in the middle of a cross, is preserved at Gotha.⁶

There are also a certain number of 6th-7th century Longobard thin gold crosses in whose centre a coin or an imprint of a coin with the bust of the reigning Byzantine emperor is placed.⁷

The iconographic motif of the emperor's portrait occupying the centre of a cross is modelled on the theme of Christ's face represented, in various contexts, in a medallion at the intersection of the two arms of the cross. This theme appears early in Christian art, as for example on the apse mosaic of St. Appollinare in Classe, Ravenna,⁸ with the inscription "Salus Mundi" and on the ampulae from the Holy Land, with inscriptions "Emmanuel, God among us".⁹

An interesting example from a later period (fig. 2) is provided by a full-page miniature from the Codex of the Evangelical School in Smyrna, a manuscript destroyed by fire in 1922.

Christ Emmanuel in a medallion, in the centre of a large cross bordered with pearls and precious stones is extending the keys to St. Peter and a book to St. Paul. The two apostles are standing on the left and on the right of the cross, looking up towards Christ. Two angels, one on each side of the upper part of the cross, and turning towards it, are represented in bust, with covered hands.

This miniature, occupying page 157, was the second of the two introductory illustrations to the section of the Codex which contained excerpts from Cosmas Indicopleustes' Christian Topography. The composition with the cross was preceded by



Fig. 2
Codex of the Evangelical School in Smyrna, p.157
Courtesy of the Austrian National Library.

the portrait of the scribe presenting a volume to a young man, on page 156.¹⁰

The *Traditio* of the keys and of the Book to St. Peter and St. Paul by Christ, from an *imago clipeata* in the centre of a

Whittemore Collection ed. by A.R. Bellinger and Ph. Grierson Vol. III/2 (Washington 1973) Pl. XXXVIII, XLI, XLII. See also A. Grabar, *op. cit.*, 119-120 and fig. 21.

6. K. Weitzmann, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the DO Collection*, Vol. III (Washington D.C. 1972) 55-58 Pl. XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV.

7. Deér, *op. cit.*, 77 ff.; Grabar, *op. cit.* 121.

8. C. Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrh. bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrh.* (Wiesbaden 1960) 165, Tf. XX,2.

9. A. Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte* (Paris 1958) Pl. XXXIV, XXXV.

10. The Smyrna Codex also contained an illustrated Physiologus and parts of the Treatise on the twelve stones decorating the breastplate of Aaron by Epiphanius of Salamis. J. Strzygowski, *Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus, des Kosmas Indicopleustes und Oktateuch nach Handschriften der Bibliothek zu Smyrna* (Leipzig 1899). — E.K. Rjedin, *Khristianskaja Topografija Kozmy Indikoplova po grečeskim*

monumental cross admired by angels, the whole illumination rich in gold (see Rjedin, *op. cit.* in n. 10), emphasises the universality of the Christian Church stemming from the Cross, seen as a cosmic symbol of triumph.

A shimmering image of Christ Emmanuel is depicted in the centre of a cross placed in a lamp of clay held by St. John the Baptist on a 10th century miniature illustrating a homily by Pseudo-Chrysostom whose exegesis explains that Divine Wisdom sheds light over the oikoumene from the height of the cross and leads the world towards piety.¹¹

In the same way, as Ptochoprodromos eloquently proclaims when speaking of Manuel and his adversaries, the Emperor in whom God's providence and Solomon's inexplicable theosophic wisdom reside (1ww-1xx) shines over the world and protects those entrusted to him.

Although it is certain that Ptochoprodromos uses formulae long established in Byzantine political ideology, one can suppose that Manuel I's reign particularly inspired the creation of imagery, poetic and artistic, involving the theme of the emperor cosmocrator. In that respect, and in connection with our poem, one should recall verses from the Marcianus codex gr.Z.524, fol 112^v, studied recently by P. Magdalino and R. Nelson.¹² It is a description of a newly built kouboukleion at the Blachernae Palace. Manuel I was represented in the centre of a painting which most probably covered a domed ceiling, "the purple-rayed centre of the world's orbit" and around him forming a circle, personifications of virtues (whose embodiment the emperor is). acclaiming him above their heads — for "through them he

triumphs over Dalmatians, Persians, Dacians and every barbarian and faithless race".

It is also possible to assume that Manuel's name, sometimes compared to Emmanuel (which means "God is with us")¹³ contributed to this particular development in iconography and poetry.

As stated earlier, in Ptochoprodromos' Poem IV, in addition to the figure of the cross to which the emperor's rule is compared, there is a mention of "the most divine ruling Trinity with whose help the emperor wields mightily the sceptre of single rule" (1z-1bb). These lines follow the elaborate allusions to the "tetrarchy" and the expressions "quadruply august", "quadruple kingship" etc., within which the structure emperor-cross is placed.¹⁴

While the well known anecdote concerning the oracle AIMA may offer a possible interpretation for this part of the Poem as suggested by Alexiou (*art. cit.*, this volume), I believe that one should also consider the possibility of the poet's using the terms "tetrachy", "quadruple kingship" etc. with the intention of denoting the unity of "four" which the emperor forms with the Trinity by whom he is aided. Ptochoprodromos thus reinforces the concept of the four-sided, cross-shaped imperial rule over the world. However, just as the Trinity is one and undivisible, so the emperor's sceptre remains the symbol of a single rule although the four-sided sign of the cross and the Tetrarchy (the emperor helped by the Trinity) govern behind it.

The importance of the intimate assistance of the Spirit through whom the emperor reigns is well known. In court ceremonies the emperor is acclaimed as

τὸ πρόβλημα τῆς Τριάδος and ἡ ἐκλογὴ τῆς Τριάδος

i russkim spiskam (Moskva 1916), reproduces the miniature with the cross on p.8. A large inscription EMMANOVHA above the cross (not seen on fig. 2 here) is also visible. According to Rjedin, the cross as well as Christ's dress were painted in gold. The gemmed rim of the cross consisted of pearls and red and blue stones. — W. Wolska-Conus, *Cosmas Indicopleustes: Topographie chrétienne t.I* (Paris 1968) 98 ff. — O. Demus, 'Bemerkungen zum Physiologus von Smyrna', *JÖB* 25 (1976) 235-257. After a closer analysis of the at one time lost and recently found collection of photographs at the Austrian National Library, O. Demus dates the miniatures to the 14th century.

11. Z. Gavrilović, 'La Résurrection d'Adam: Une réinterprétation', *Cahiers Archéologiques* 27 (1978) 101-115, fig. 1.

12. P. Magdalino and R. Nelson, 'The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century', *BF* (1982) 123-183, see esp. 142-146.

13. *Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. J. Hastings, s.v. "Immanuel". For the association of the Emperor Manuel's name with Emmanuel see M.F. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081-1261* (Dumbarton Oaks 1969) 126.

14. The verses including the term τετραύγουστος in Prodromos' Poem are mentioned by A.A. Vasiliev, 'The Historical Significance of the Mosaic of Saint Demetrius at Sassoferrato', *DOP* 5 (1950) 31-39. In connection with the representation of four Greek letters B surrounding two crosses on the mosaic plaque (ascribed to the Palaeologan period) which is the subject of his study, A.A. Vasiliev recalls an article by C. Sathas published in 1877 (Vasiliev, *op. cit.* 35, n.12) who maintained that the four letters B around the cross symbolised the domination of the Byzantine emperors over the four regions of the world. C. Sathas had announced a longer study on the subject but it did not appear. A.A. Vasiliev concludes that further research is necessary. The references to the cosmic symbolism of the cross are not included in his discussion.

The Holy Trinity is celebrated as the divine indivisible power, the light which is the threefold sun illuminating the world. It is asked to reign with the emperors.¹⁵ Similarly, in a sermon by Leo VI, the emperor-author implores the undivided sovereignty of the Holy Trinity "to direct and manage with us those whose governance you have committed to us".¹⁶

One more construction involving the figure four occurs in the last five lines of Poem IV. Ptochoprodromos evokes four most popular military saints who are the constant companions of the emperor.¹⁷ As in the metaphor of the cross and in the description of the domed kouboukleion, the emperor again replaces Christ as a central figure; but while Christ is often surrounded by the four evangelists, the poet emphasises this time the qualities of the emperor-general by indicating that his supporters and escort are the four saintly soldiers who witnessed the word of God.

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15. Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, I.69, 317 ff. O. Treitinger, *Die Oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung in höfischen Zeremoniell* (Jena 1938, reprinted Darmstadt 1956) 119 ff., 170ff.

16. Oratio XIII, *De Spiritu Santo*, Migne PG 107, col. 133-157. See Z. Gavrilović, 'The Humiliation of Leo VI the Wise', *Cahiers Archéologiques* 28 (1979), 87-94.

17. The Saints Theodore, Demetrius and George mentioned by Ptochoprodromos all appear on Manuel I's coinage, see Hendy, *op. cit.* 111f.

Comes Horreorum — Komēs tēs Lamias

JOHN HALDON

It is a fact that very little is known of the organisation of the storage and distribution of grain at Constantinople by the imperial government after the later sixth/early seventh century. Until this time, the supply was assured through the bureau of the praetorian prefect of the East and his subordinate, the *comes horreorum*, along with the latter's staff of *humeralii* and *chartularii*, who had charge of the public (state) granaries; and through an independent bureau called the *sitōnikon*, originally under the authority of the City Prefect, but after Justinian's time transferred to the competence of the praetorian prefect of the East.¹ The granaries where the grain was stored are named in the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* as the *horrea Troadensia*, *Valentiaca*, *Constantiaca*, *Alexandrina* and the *horreum Theodosianum* — two presumably named after the sources of supply (the Troad and Egypt), three after the emperors during whose reigns they were constructed. A sixth-century ceremony preserved in the *De Caerimoniis* of Constantine VII records a state inspection of one of these granaries by the emperor and the praetorian prefect —

1. See A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire: a social, economic and administrative survey* (Oxford 1964) 449-50, 697ff., 701 and references; E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II (Paris-Bruges 1949/Amsterdam 1968) 441, 764-5; G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris 1974) 530-541; G. Bratianu, *Études byzantines d'histoire économique et sociale* (Paris 1938) 131ff. The grain was then passed on to the *praefectus annonae*, under the prefect of the City, who was responsible for its distribution to the bakers and to the populace, both in the earlier and later periods. For the tenth century, see *To Eparchikon Biblion*, ed. J. Nicole (Geneva 1893) cap. xviii. For the *sitōnikon*, see n. 3 below.

where the emperor might also take along a surveyor to check the amount of grain registered by the *comes*, and to ensure that none had been stolen or sold illicitly.²

But what happens to these granaries in the later period? That imperial state granaries existed is clear from references to such establishments in sources from the seventh to the eleventh century and beyond. How they were administered remains unclear, although they must have been closely connected with the department of the *sitōnikon*.³ There is no reference, for example, in

2. See *Notitiae Urbis Constantinopolitanae* (in *Notitia Dignitatum utriusque imperii*, ed. O. Seeck [Berlin 1876/229-243] v, 13-17; ix, 6; 9; and *De Caerimoniis* (Bonn) 699-701¹⁷). The granaries in question in the sixth-century ceremony are those *tau Stratēgiou*, in the Vth region of the City. See R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine* (Paris 1964) 431-2 and map 1.G6; these may be identified with the *horrea* of the Vth region listed in the *Not. Urbis Const.* (the *horrea Troadensia, Valentiaca* and *Constantiaca*). Cf. *RE* 8 (1913) art. *Horreum*, 2464. A great deal has been written on the sources of supply of grain, its transportation to Constantinople, and related problems; next to nothing, however, on its internal administration after the sixth century. See for summaries of the literature and further discussion *RE* VII/1, 126ff. art. *Frumētum* (Rostovtzeff); J. Teall, 'The Grain Supply of the Byzantine Empire', *DOP* 13 (1959) 87-139; R. -J. Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber* (Misc. Byz. Monacensia 22. München 1976) 21-2, 201-227; M.F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c.300-1450* (Cambridge 1985) 44-52; G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates* (München 1963) 286-7.

3. For the seventh century, see below; and for the early eighth century, see *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. De Boor (Leipzig 1883/4) 384¹³; note also Du Cange, *Gloss. graec.*, s.v. ὀρεῖον 1793; Bratianu, *op. cit.* (note 1 above) 131ff. For the eleventh century (the establishment of a grain store at Rhaidestos under Michael VII) see P. Lemerle, 'Byzance au tournant de son destin', in *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin* (Paris 1977) 249ff., see 300-302 and literature. The term *horreum (or-reion/orreiarion)* had by this time lost its specific meaning: note H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Recherches sur les douanes à Byzance, l' "octava", le "kommerkion" et les commerciales* (Paris 1963) 186 and n.2, 187; and in particular S.G. Mercati, 'Ὀπράριος = Horrearius', *Aegyptus* 30 (1950) 8-13, who notes that the term *horrearius*, in a variety of Hellenised forms, continued to be used throughout the Byzantine period. It is associated both with monastic and ecclesiastical officials in charge of grain storehouses; as well as with state officials responsible for the imperial lands in the provinces: see, for example, V. Laurent, *Les sceaux byzantins du médaillon vatican* (= *Medagliere della Biblioteca vaticana* 1. Città del Vaticano 1962) no. 89 (p.81) and notes (9th cent.); and *idem*, *Documents de sigillographie. La collection C. Orghidan* (= *Bibliothèque byzantine, Documents* 1. Paris 1952) nos. 11 and 252. See also G. Millet, 'Apothécarios', *BZ* 30 (1930) 434-6. None of these seems to have any connection with the storage of corn in Constantinople, however, the provincial *horrearii* and *synonarii* being involved in the supply of grain to the army, and coming under the authority of the thematic *prōtonotarii*. See, e.g., H. Glykatzis-Ahrweiler, 'Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire byzantin aux IX^e - XI^e siècles', *BCH* 84 (1960) 1-109, see 43; and J.F. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians: an administrative, institutional and social survey of the Opsikion and tagmata, c.580-900* (Poikila Byzantina 3. Bonn/Berlin 1984) 314-316 and notes 948-954; although it is quite possible

the Kleterologion of Philotheos (dated to 899) to any official who might be connected with the grain supply, although this is an otherwise detailed source for the chief officers of the administrative bureaux and their subordinates. The trail seems to run out in the eighth century.

The last references to a *comes horreorum* (*komēs tōn orriōn*) occur on two seals of the period 650-750/800, of *komites tōn basilikōn orriōn*; and in a later seventh-century account of the miracles of St. Artemios. Miracle 16 recounts the tale of the sixty-year-old watchman of the granary τῶν Καισαρίου, τοῦ ἐπιλεγομένου Λαμίας.⁴ The district *ta Kaisariou* is located just

that such officials were also involved in the levying and transporting of grain intended ultimately for the capital itself.

For the seventh century, seals of a *basilikos annōnarios*, an *annōneparchos*, a *comes tou artou* and *chartoularioi tou sitōnikou* (see G. Zacos, A. Vegler, *Byzantine Lead Seals* I (Basle 1972) nos. 2361, 454, 2920A and 2869) are evidence for both the urban and the praetorian praefectural sides of the administration of grain. The *annōneparchos* seems to be the *praefectus annonae*, the official in the City prefect's bureau responsible for the production and distribution of the *annonae civicae* (cf. the term *nykteparchos* used of the *praefectus vigilum* — Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 692). The *komēs tou artou* may represent the same function, or at least a closely related post. See Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 486, 692, 696ff. The *annōnarios* represents either the same official or more probably a member of the staff of the *praefectus annonae* (alternatively, although less likely, the seal may have belonged to a military *optio* or commissary officer, referred to also in the 6th century and before by this title — see Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 626 for example). The *chartoularioi tou sitōnikou* represent the bureau of the same name, until Justinian's time under the City Prefect, thereafter under the praetorian prefect. It administered a special fund for the supplying of Constantinople with corn, separate from that provided by the praetorian prefect's office from Egypt and stored in the granaries of the *comes horreorum* (see Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 698 and n. 24: *Cod. Theod.* xiv, 16.1 and 3; Joh. Lydus, *De Mag.* (ed. Wünsch) iii, 38.) The *sitōnikon* with its staff of chartularies must have become increasingly important after the loss of Egypt, and probably came to dominate the administration of the corn supply to the granaries of Constantinople and hence of the *comes horreorum*. See on all these officials V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin II: l'administration centrale* (Paris 1981) no.1154 and 644ff. (and, for evidence that the *annonae civicae* issued to the *scholares* in Constantinople did not cease after 618 and the supposed abolition of this issue, see Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians*, 125 and notes 164-7). Of all these, only the *sitōnikon* seems to have any connection with the granaries and the actual supplying of grain for the City, the others coming under the authority of the City Prefect and being connected with the production of bread and its distribution.

4. For the seals, see Zacos and Vegler, *op. cit.*, nos. 2929 and 3066; the granary watchman: *Miracula S. Artemii*, in A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra* (St. Petersburg 1909/Leipzig 1975) 1-79, see no. 16, p.16^{11-13, 21-22} (*BHG*³ 173). See C. Mango, 'On the History of the Templon and the Martyrion of St. Artemios at Constantinople', *Zograf* 10 (1979) 40-43.

east of the harbour of Eleutherios, and south of the Heptaskalon.⁵ The granary in question may be identifiable with one or both of the *horrea Alexandrina* and *horreum Theodosianum* listed in the Notitia as being situated in the IXth region of the City — for this region included also the district *ta Eleutheriou* and that of *ta Kaisariou*.⁶ Possibly these granaries were renamed, or at least gained the name of, the district *ta Kaisariou* after it had become known as such, during the second half of the fifth century and after the compilation of the Notitia.⁷

The term *Lamia* appears to refer to a monument, or the area around such a monument, in the districts *ta Eleutheriou/ta Kaisariou*: the empress Eirene constructed the *triclinia* of the (Eleutherion) palace there, and according to the Patria, the monument was known as the *Lamia of the palace*.⁸ Again according to the Patria, the *Modios*, or grain-measure set up by Valentinian III was close to the *Lamia*, which might help us to locate its position more precisely. Unfortunately, the location of the *Modios* is itself unclear. According to the Patria, it was in the Amastrion, although this leaves some room for play, since the name Amastrion seems to have been applied both to the supposed forum of the same name, between the Kapetolion, the forum of the Ox and that of the Bull,⁹ and to the region extending southwards across the Mesē to *ta Kaisariou*. The Parastaseis

5. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 363; 227-230; map 1, E7; and, for an alternative view, V. Tiftixoglou, 'Die Helenianai nebst einigen anderen Besitzungen im Vorfeld des frühen Konstantinopel', in *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels*, ed. H.-G. Beck (Misc. Byz. Monacensia 14. München 1973) 58-63 and notes. For the Heptaskalon, see G. Prinzing, P. Speck, 'Fünf Lokalitäten in Konstantinopel', *ibid.*, esp. 194ff; also W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion — Konstantinupolis — Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen 1977) 61-2.

6. *Not. Urbis Const.* ix, 6; 9; see Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, map 3; also Müller-Wiener, *op. cit.*, 22, 61-2 and literature.

7. See Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 227.

8. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 379 and references; and *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: the Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, introd., transl. and commentary, eds. Averil Cameron, Judith Herrin (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 10. Leiden 1984) 224-5; *Patria tēs Kōnstantinoupoleōs*, in *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Th. Preger, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1901/1907) I, 1-18; II, 135-289, see II, ii, 179⁵ (cap. 51).

9. *Patria* II, ii, 179⁵ (cap. 51); 202^{15sq.} (cap. 97); *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (in Preger, *Scriptores*, I, 19-73) 27^{8sq.} (cap. 12). See Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 66, 68-69, 104.

give no precise location at all;¹⁰ but the De Caerimoniis places it on the Mesē between the forum of the Bull and the Philadelphion.¹¹ The solution may lie in the existence of two or more such *modioi*, or in the removal of the original — at the lower end of the Amastrion area, near to *ta Eleutheriou/ta Kaisariou* — to the Mesē, at a later date.¹² At any rate, the *Lamia* seems to have been near to the palace of Eleutheriou and in the district *ta Kaisariou*, and was called such in both the earlier seventh and later eighth centuries. Note that Eirene also constructed or reconstructed a range of bakeries in the same area and at the same time as she had the palace of Eleutheriou constructed.¹³ The granary of *ta Kaisariou*, therefore, known also as *tēs Lamias*, is to be located in the IXth region of the City adjacent to the district *ta Eleutheriou*, below the Heptaskalon.

Now it is significant that, while the *Klēterologion* of Philotheos makes no mention of any officials clearly connected with the distribution of grain or the supervision of granaries, a *komēs tēs Lamias* does appear, in the bureau of the *genikon logothesion*.¹⁴ Bury, followed by Oikonomidēs and Laurent, assumed that the title was an equivalent of a notional Latin *comes Lamnae*, tentatively identified with the *comes metallorum per Illyricum* in the late Roman bureau of the *sacrae largitiones*, and known from the Notitia Dignitatum;¹⁵ or a similarly titled but unrecorded official with similar duties: the supervision of mines and the transport of bullion to the local *thesaurae* of the provincial *largitiones*. The *comes sacrarum largitionum* had general supervision over the production of precious ores, as well as of coin and the organisation of mints, as his *officium* clearly shows.¹⁶

10. *Parastaseis*, *loc. cit.*

11. *De Caer.* 83²³⁻⁴, 106¹⁵

12. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 104; Cameron, Herrin, *Parastaseis*, 186-7.

13. *Patria* II, iii, 246¹¹ (cap. 85) and note; 269¹³⁻¹⁷ (cap. 173).

14. *Klēterologion of Philotheos* (in N. Oikonomidēs, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IV^e et X^e siècles* (Paris 1972) 81-235) see 113³⁵ and comm. 313-4.

15. See *Notitia Dig.*, *Oriens* (cited note 2 above) xiii, 11; *De Caer.* ii, comm., 845; in charge of mines: J.B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century, with a revised Text of the Kleterologion of Philotheos* (Brit. Acad. suppl. papers 1. London 1911) 89 (citing also a seal published by Konstantopoulos, *Byzantiaka Molybdoboulla tou en Athēnais Ethnikou Nomismatikon Mouseiou* (Athens 1917) no. 206b); Oikonomidēs, *Listes de préséance* (see note 14 above) 314; V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin, II: l'administration centrale* (Paris 1981) 191-193, and 6 seals (nos. 401-406) dating to the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries.

16. *Notitia Dig.*, *Oriens*, xiii; Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 369, 427ff.

And as has also been shown, the largest sub-department within his bureau, the *sacrum vestiarius*, becomes the later, independent, *sekretion* of the *vestiarion*.¹⁷ But since it has often been assumed, wrongly, that the later *vestiarion* developed out of the department of the *sacrae vestis* in the bureau of the *sacrum cubiculum*; or from a hypothetical bureau under the *sacellarius*; and since, equally incorrectly, it has generally been assumed that the general *logothesion* develops out of the late Roman *sacrae largitiones*,¹⁸ the anomalous existence of a *komēs* in charge of mines in the general *logothesion* has passed unnoticed. For if the general *logothesion* did represent the *sacrae largitiones*, of course, there would be nothing odd about this (although one would then expect to find officials in charge of mints and coin present in the same department). In fact, of course, the *genikon logothesion* represents the general bank of the old praetorian prefecture of the East, which had no jurisdiction or competence with regard to mines and metals, or coins and mints — these were strictly the sphere of the *comes sacrarum largitionum*.¹⁹ But the praetorian prefect of the East *did* have an administrative competence in the question of grain supplies and transportation, and the *comes horreorum* came under his authority.²⁰ Given that the general *logothesion* is the department where we should expect to find an official in charge of granaries, and given the remarkable continuity of function, if not always of title and name, between late Roman and Byzantine administrative institutions, I suggest that the mysterious *komēs tēs Lamias* in the general *logothesion* is in fact an official in charge of granaries, called *tōn Kaisariou* or *tēs Lamias*; and that he very probably represents the late Roman *comes horreorum*.²¹ The process through which this situation

was eventually reached must remain obscure — possibly the number of granaries required to supply the reduced population of the City during the later seventh and eight centuries meant that only those in the district *ta Kaisariou* remained in use, and that the official in charge of them, the *komēs tōn basilikōn orriōn*, was given the name most commonly applied to them.

Finally, the account of the miracle of St. Artemius referred to already provides some interesting insights: that the granaries clearly needed watchmen; that the watchmen lived on the premises, and that if they were found to be absent (even to seek a cure from the saint) they would immediately be replaced; and that a close watch was maintained by the count in charge of granaries, a point confirmed by the sixth-century account in the *De Caerimoniis*.

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17. Hendy, *Studies* (cited n. 2 above) 412-413; *Klēterologion of Philotheos*, 121¹⁵⁻²⁶.

18. Oikonomidēs, *Listes de préséance*, 316 and literature; Bury, *Imperial Administrative System*, 89; M.F. Hendy, 'On the Administrative Basis of the Byzantine Coinage c.400-900, and the Reforms of Heraclius', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 12/2 (1970) 129-154, see 134-5; but with a different view, *idem*, *Studies*, 410 and n. 163, 412 and n. 170.

19. See Hendy, *Studies*, 412 and literature.

20. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 450 and references, cited n. 1 above; note also that at *De Caer.* 700⁸⁻⁹ the emperor inspects the granaries together with the praetorian prefect.

21. It is worth noting that the bureau of the *genikos logothetēs* included also a number of *komites hydatōn*, presumably in charge of the metropolitan water-supply (aqueducts and, in particular, cisterns), probably the successors to the *hydrophylakes* or *aquarii*

under the praetorian prefect of the East. See Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 695-6 and notes; and *Cod. Iust.* xi, 43.10/4-5 (474-91).

For the granaries of Constantinople, see now also C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IV^e-VII^e siècles)* (= Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'histoire et de civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 2. Paris 1985) 40 and notes. I had not yet seen this study when the present note went to press, but I note that Mango briefly discusses the question of the Lamia granary (pp.54-55) and arrives at the same conclusions as those reached here.

Byzantine History in late Ottoman Turkish Historiography

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The present Short Note is intended as a brief introduction to a subject which is part of a wider research project on Greek (ancient, Byzantine, and modern) as well as Roman history and culture as described and discussed in Ottoman literature, particularly in late Ottoman historiography.¹ As an attempt to familiarise the reader with, at this stage, no more than a few aspects of the subject in question, the following sketch does not pretend to be exhaustive. It is hoped, however, that it will provide a general idea of the context, as well as of the relevant sources, some of which will be described in more detail. Our note is, in addition, intended to arouse interest, particularly from the point of view of Byzantine and modern Greek studies, and to invite comments.

The Context

As chronicles written for, and dealing with, a Muslim dynasty, most early Ottoman histories examined pre-Ottoman times only briefly,² and generally ignored pre-Islamic history, the 'time of

1. By 'late Ottoman historiography' as opposed to 'late Ottoman *Turkish* historiography' (as in the title) I want to indicate that the project (but *not* this Note) is ideally concerned with historical writing composed in the Ottoman empire during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, not only in Turkish, but in any language including, of course, Greek.

2. For a general account of early Ottoman historiography see B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (ed.), *Historians of the Middle East* (London 1962) 169-216. Ottoman historians and their works are individually treated in F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der*

Ignorance',³ completely. The history of the 'Eastern Roman empire' (Rûm-i Şarkî), as the Byzantine empire was generally referred to in later Ottoman historiography, is no exception: despite the fact that the Byzantine and Ottoman states existed side by side for more than a century and a half, and despite the fact that the Ottoman sultans could, and did, claim to have become the imperial successors to the Byzantine emperors. Early Ottoman chronicles of course contain information about the Byzantium of the Palaeologues, and some of them must be regarded as major sources for particular aspects of late Byzantine history.⁴ But they do not deal with Byzantine history as such. Nor do most of the later histories, although there are significant exceptions. Two examples may be cited as illustrations: a brief history of the early Christian empires (based on Muslim and apparently also Byzantine sources) from the early sixteenth century which figures as part of the *Gurbetnâme-i Sulţân Cem*⁵; and from the late seventeenth century, the *History of the Empire of Rum* (Tārîh-i Devlet-i Rûmîye) written by Hüseyin Hezarfenn ('of a thousand skills', born on Kos, d. 1691 in Istanbul) who was probably the first Ottoman historian to write a history of pre-Ottoman times according to Western sources.⁶ But apart from these and other rather exceptional cases Ottoman historical writing, bound in its primarily dynastic and 'heilsgeschichtliche' orientation, did not go beyond its original limitations until later in the nineteenth century⁷ when, due to the reception of the

Osmanen und ihre Werke (Leipzig 1927), reprinted by University Microfilms International (Ann Arbor/London 1981).

3. For the 'time of Ignorance' see the article 'Djahiliyya' in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*² 11, 383f.

4. Compare J. Karayannopoulos and G. Weiss, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324-1453)*. Zweiter Halband (Wiesbaden 1982) 532-4, especially No. 572.

5. I owe this interesting early example to the kindness of B. Flemming, Leiden. On the *Gurbetnâme-i Sulţân Cem* see B. Flemming, 'A sixteenth-century Turkish apology for Islam: the *Gurbetname-i Sultan Djem*', *Byzantinische Forschungen* forthcoming.

6. Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, 229. A recent detailed account of the life and work of Hüseyin Hezarfenn as an historian is H. Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker Hüseyin b. Ça'fer, genannt Hezarfenn, und die Istanbulers Gesellschaft in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg i. Br. 1971).

7. An early example for the gradual departure from the traditional historiographic concept is Hayrullah's (1917-64) *Tārîh-i Devlet-i Âliye-i Osmāniye* (*History of the Ottoman Empire*), published in Istanbul between 1271 (= 1854/5) and 1292 (= 1875),

secular concept of universal history developed during the Enlightenment, an increasing number of 'Universal Histories' based primarily on Western sources were published in the Ottoman empire.⁸ Though some of these histories were mere translations into Ottoman Turkish from Western 'histoires universelles',⁹ others were original, forming an interesting, but entirely neglected, corpus of Ottoman Turkish historiography of a distinctly modern, and Western, character.¹⁰

In the course of the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries Ottoman history, still undisputedly of central interest to an Ottoman readership, was repeatedly placed in a new, and from case to case varying, historical setting. It was only at this time that Ottoman history began occasionally to be linked with the pre-Islamic history of the Turks in Central Asia,¹¹ and only now was Ottoman history sometimes described against the background of the history of the Byzantine empire.¹²

probably the first history of the Ottoman empire and its neighbours on the basis of Eastern and Western sources. See Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, 360-2. Hammer-Purgstall called this work 'a very strange thing' ('sehr merkwürdige Erscheinung'). The work is listed in Özege, *Eski Harflerle Basılmış Türkçe Eserler Kataloğu* (*Catalogue of Turkish Works Printed in the Old Script*) (Istanbul 1971ff.) under No. 3955, p.274.

8. One of the earliest 'Universal Histories' of this kind written in the nineteenth century is the *Tārîh-i 'Umûnî* (6 vols., Istanbul 1297-1299 (= 1879-80-1881/2) by Mehmed Murad, for use in the *Mülkiye* school. Özege, *Catalogue*, 1745f., No. 19936. On Mehmed Murad (1854-1917) see Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, 391f., and the comprehensive study by B. Emil, *Mizanî Murad Bey. Hayatı ve Eserleri* (Murad Bey, the Editor of the Newspaper *Mizan*. His Life and Works) (Istanbul 1979).

9. Ahmed Hilmi's *Tārîh-i 'Umûnî* (*General History*), an adaption of Chamber's *Universal History*, is quoted by Kushner as 'the first general history book to appear in Turkish' (D. Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism, 1876-1908* (London 1977), 28). It was published in Istanbul between 1283 (= 1866/7) and 1295 (= 1878), see Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, 364f.; Özege, *Catalogue*, 1754, No. 19931.

10. This corpus is bibliographically insufficiently covered by Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*. M.O. Bayrak, *Osmanlı Tarihi Yazarları* (*Writers on Ottoman History*) (Osmanlı Yayınevi 1982) surveys it in a more comprehensive way, but is unreliable in detail and suffers from the fact that he has not used Özege (cited n. 7 above).

11. D. Kushner, *Turkish Nationalism*, 29 (cited no. 9 above) dates the establishment of a link between Ottoman and Central Asian Turkish history back to 1887. However, a similar idea had been expressed by the same author (i.e. Midhat Efendi) already in 1877: 'Only the virtues which the Turks had brought from Central Asia could do away with such immorality as generated in the Byzantine lands by the ancient civilisation'. Ahmed Midhat, *Üss-i İnkilâb* (*The Basis of Revolution*). Vol. 1 (Istanbul 1294 = 1877) II. For this work see Özege, *Catalogue*, 1993, No.22431.

12. The suitability of, if not the need for, such an arrangement was expressed as

The extent of re-interpretation which Ottoman history had undergone during the last decades of the Ottoman empire is symbolically reflected in that the last *History of the Ottomans* to be published in Ottoman times¹³ introduced its account of early Ottoman history with long sections dealing with both of these pre-Ottoman as well as non-Muslim societies: the Turks of Central Asia and Byzantium.¹⁴ There had developed a sort of naive 'comparative' approach towards Ottoman and Byzantine history, which was used as a means of emphasising the achievements of the Ottomans: 'Whether the rise of the Ottomans was to the benefit of the civilisation of mankind or to its detriment will become apparent by comparing Ottoman history with that of the Eastern Roman empire', Ahmed Midhat says in his *Detailed History of Modern Times* of 1885-88.¹⁵ It was, however, not until Mehmet Fuat Köprülü's famous *Considerations on the Influence of Byzantine Institutions upon Ottoman Institutions*, published in Turkish in 1931, that comparative Byzantine-Ottoman history was dealt with by a Turkish author in a scholarly way, conforming to Western standards.¹⁶

The Sources

'Eastern Roman' (Byzantine) history had been dealt with in several Ottoman publications between 1870 and 1920. But there is still no bibliography,¹⁷ since most of these accounts of, or discussions about, 'Eastern Roman' history and culture were not published independently, but figure either buried within history-books with a wider scope and a more general title, or in the

columns of one of the various Ottoman news-papers and magazines. For the present I will confine myself to two examples only, which represent respectively the earliest and the latest major published specimens of Byzantine history as treated in late Ottoman Turkish historiography:

1. the section on Byzantine history and culture in Ahmed Midhat's *Detailed History of Modern Times*,¹⁸ and
2. the corresponding part of the *Introduction* to the last *History of the Ottomans* published in Ottoman times, by Mehmed Arif and Necib Asim.¹⁹

The following indicates the scope, contents, and main sources of these works.

1. Ahmed Midhat, *Mufasssal Tarih-i Kurun-i Cedide* ('*Detailed History of Modern Times*'), 3 vols, Istanbul 1303-1305 (= 1885/6-1887/8), 797, 800, 348 pp.

It was in this work that Midhat Efendi²⁰ first realised his idea of treating Byzantine history alongside Ottoman history. In an earlier publication he had expressed his discontent with the common practise of linking Byzantine with ancient Greek history. Midhat was convinced that the history of the 'Eastern Roman empire' would be better discussed together with the history of the Ottoman empire (embracing most of the former Byzantine territories) rather than with that of (ancient) Greece, 'because the empire of Constantinople is more closely related to Ottoman than (ancient) Greek history'.²¹ Basically a history of the Ottomans from the beginnings until c.1500, the *Detailed History* contains historical sketches of those states with which the Ottomans dealt

early as 1880/1: Ahmed Midhat, *Kā'ināt (Kutubhāne-i Tārīh): Devlet-i 'Osmanīye (The Universe [Historical Library]: The Ottoman Empire)* Istanbul 1298 (= 1880/1) 58ff. The first realisation of this new approach was published five years later. See below, p.215ff. For a reference to the above title see Özege, *Catalogue*, 799f., No. 9937.

13. The Ottoman empire finally collapsed in November 1922.

14. See below, p.218ff.

15. Vol. II, 269.

16. Köprülüzaade Mehmet Fuat, 'Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Te'siri Hakkında bâzi Mülâhazalar', *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası* 1 (Istanbul 1931) 165-313. For the treatment of 'Byzantium' in modern Turkish historiography see now M. Strohmeier, *Seldschukische Geschichte und türkische Geschichtswissenschaft im Urteil moderner türkischer Historiker* (Berlin 1984) 205-18.

17. I do not know of any previous systematic attempt towards a collection of historical writing in Ottoman Turkish on the subject in question.

18. The work is misleadingly (but not entirely without justification) described by Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, 390 as 'allgemeine Welt- und Kulturgeschichte vom Altertum bis auf die Neuzeit'. Kushner, *Turkish Nationalism*, 118 knows only of the first two volumes. Özege, *Catalogue*, lists the work under No. 14011, p.1186.

19. There is no reference to this title in Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*. Özege, *Catalogue*, has it under No. 15998, p.1377.

20. 1844-1913. There is a brief bio-bibliographical sketch of Ahmed Midhat in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (by B. Lewis). For further details see A. Siyavuşgil in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* I, 184-187.

21. Compare n.12. My quotation is from a passage on page 59 of *The Ottoman Empire* published in 1880/1.

during the period in question. But while, for instance, the Republic of Venice is represented by some 25 odd pages only (vol. III, pp.287-311), Byzantium covers more than 150 pages (vol. II, pp.269-427). Ahmed Midhat's section on the 'Eastern Roman empire' (Rûm-i Sarkî) embraces the period from c. 330 to 1453, and deals with aspects of Byzantine political, institutional, and social history. The sources on which his account is based are almost exclusively Western: Midhat cites as his main sources the French version of Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, a general history by Canetto,²³ and the *Histoire du Bas-Empire* by Louis-Philippe Comte de Ségur.²⁴ 'In the course of studying the history of Byzantium', Ahmed Midhat says, 'none of the histories in Ottoman, neither of an earlier nor later date, was of any use to us (. . .) As far as the modern ones are concerned — they contain (but) few fragmentary pieces (on Byzantine history) condensed from abridged general histories written in European languages'.²⁵ And he adds that such material is not worth considering for his *Detailed History*. Instead, he thought it suitable to embellish his work with a few illustrations from Western and, most probably, Greek sources (see plate).²⁶

Midhat Efendi's *History of the Eastern Roman empire* is divided into three parts:

- I. 'A glance at the history of the Eastern Roman empire' (Rûm-i Şarkî tārîhine bir nazar), with an opening chapter on the division between the Western and Eastern Roman empires, followed by the statement that the Eastern Roman empire became the heir to the Western one in terms of the latter's bad morals (fesād-i ahlâka Rûm-i Şarkîniñ Rûm-i Garbîniñ

22. Translated and annotated by Guizot, Paris² 1828.

23. I could not verify this work.

24. The *Histoire du Bas-Empire* is part of the author's *Abrégé de l'histoire universelle, ancienne et moderne à l'usage de la jeunesse* (15 vols., Paris: Eymery 1817-19). It figures as vols. XVI-XIX of the 1824-26 edition of the *Histoire universelle*, which has been published in vols. X-XIX of L.-P. Comte de Ségur, *Oeuvres complètes de M. Le Cte. de Ségur* (33 vols., Paris: Eymery 1824-26). L. Apt, *Louis-Philippe de Ségur. An Intellectual in a Revolutionary Age* (The Hague 1969) 121-8.

25. *Detailed History of Modern Times* 2, 270.

26. Nicephorus III. The drawing of a Palaeologan emperor (identified as Andronicus instead of Michael who figures on the next page) opposite page 384 is almost identical with that of Michael Palaeologos facing page 104 in Skarlatos Byzantios, 'Η Κωνσταντινούπολις, ἡ Περιγραφή τοπογραφική, ἀρχαιολογική, καὶ ἱστορική τῆς περιουμίου ταύτης μεγαλοπόλεως, 1.3 (Athens 1869).



اوجھنی نیسے نو بونادک ۱۰۷۸ سنہ سندھ میں توجھند، کی
رسمی اولوب دیکرلہ برابر براسکی کابدن استسلاخ لیداشند

vâris olması), a section on 'Latinity' versus 'Greeksdom' (Rûmlık ve Lâtinlik), and a detailed description of as many as ten dynasties of Byzantine emperors and other magnates, ending with an account of the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204. This first part covers pp.269-318.

- II. 'Critical discussion of the first part of the history of the Eastern Roman empire' (Rûm-i Şarkî târihîniñ kısm-i evvelî hakkında intikâd). This is perhaps the most interesting part of Midhat's section on Byzantine history. I therefore quote his sub-divisions in detail:
 - 'Abstract of (our) critique' (hulâsa-i intikâd);
 - 'The position of the rulers' (ahvâl-i hükümdârân);
 - 'Turning to the position of the officials of state' (bundan ahval-i erkan-i devlete intikâl);
 - 'Turning to the position of the people' (bundan ahvâl-i ahâliye intikâl);
 - 'The institutions of the church as opposed to the government and the people' (hükümet ve ahâliye muqâbil kilisâ hey'eti);
 - 'The fanaticism and absurd opinions of the Eastern Roman empire' (Rûm-i Şarkîniñ ta'aşşub ve zûnûn-i bailesi);
 - 'The position of the army' (cümleye muqâbil ordu);
 - 'The influence of women' (kadınların nüfuzi);
 - 'Pomp and magnificence' (debdebe ve dârat);
 - 'Pride and haughtiness' (kibir ve nahvet); and finally
 - 'Most amazing degree of immorality' (fuşşîñ derece-i hayret-ezâsı). This second part covers pp.318-336.
- III. 'History of the Eastern Roman empire from the crusaders to the Ottomans' (ehl-i şalibden Osmânîlîlara qadar Rûm-i Şarkî târihi), basically a political history of Byzantium from 1204 to the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. This third and final part starts on p. 336.
2. Necib Aşım and Mehmed Arıf, 'Osmânî Târîhi. Medhal ile bidâyet-i zuhûr-i 'Osmânî ve ahd-i 'Osmân hân gâziyi muhtevîdir. — Târîh-i 'Osmânî Encümeni tarafından neşir olunmuşdur. Birinci cild (Ottoman History. Contains the beginnings of the Ottomans and the age of Osman Khan

Ghazi, as well as an introduction — published by the Ottoman History Society. Volume I (all published), Istanbul 1335 (= 1919), 638pp.

Not long after the 'Ottoman History Society' (Târîh-i 'Osmânî Encümeni) had been founded in November 1909 (the de-facto predecessor of the Turkish Historical Society — Türk Tarih Kurumu), Necib Aşım²⁷ and Mehmed Arıf²⁸ were put in charge by the 'Society' of preparing the first scholarly *History of the Ottomans*. It was not before 1331 (= 1912/3), however, that a programme for a first part of the new Ottoman History was published, outlining the contents of the prospective Volume One, ending with the death of Murad I in 1389.²⁹ There is no indication that the later *Introduction*, the only part of the 'History' we are concerned with here, was completed or even thought of at that time, since the opening section of the programme dealt with subjects later not to be discussed in the *Introduction*, but as the beginning of Book One. This may indicate that the present *Medhal* is a later addition.

The *Introduction* is in fact a very substantial one, covering about five sixths of our *History of the Ottomans* (pp.1-534). It is divided up into three main parts: 1. 'The Turks' (Türkler), pp.1-288; 2. 'The Byzantine empire' (Bîzâns devleti), pp.291-438; and finally 3. 'Conditions in Anatolia and the Balkans' (Anadolu ve Rumeli ahvâlî), pp.441-534.

Part two, i.e. 'The Byzantine empire', is the second longest. Like Ahmed Midhat's chapter on Byzantium, it is based primarily on Western sources like Le Beau's *Histoire du Bas-Empire*,³⁰

27. Necib Aşım (Yazıkız), 1861-1935. On the importance of Aşım Bey for the development of Turkish nationalism see Kushner, *Turkish Nationalism*, Index, cf. Aşım.

28. 1873-1919. An early 'portrait' of Mehmed Arıf is the highly unfavourable account published as a necrology by his colleague and co-author Necib Aşım in *Tarih-i 'Osmani Encümeni Mecmû'ası*, year 7-8 (Nisan 1335-Haziran 1337) Istanbul 1339 [= 1920/1] 122-5.

29. The project outlined by the *Programme* was heavily criticised by the Turkist Yusuf Akçura as being much too traditional: see his *Küçük Muhtıra* of August 1913 in F. Geogon, *Aux origines du nationalisme Turc. Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935)* (Paris 1980) 126f. (Özege, *Catalogue*, No. 16000, dates the *Programme* to the year 1915, taking the year of publication (1331) as *mâlîye* instead of *hicriye*).

30. Ch. Le Beau, *Histoire du bas-empire*. 27 vols. (Paris 1757-1784, nouvelle éd., revue entièrement, corrigée et augmentée d'après les historiens orientaux par M. de Saint-Martin [et continuée par M. Brosset jne] 21 tomes, Paris 1824-36).

Edward Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, and Pierre Grenier's *L'empire Byzantin*.³¹ It is divided into twenty five chapters in five parts, the details of which are given below:

Part one (chapters 1-4, pp.291-310) describes the spread of the Greek language and culture in the eastern parts of the Roman empire (Rûmliğin tavassu' ve intişarı), the development of the eastern provinces into an independent social body (bir hey'et-i müstakilla-i ictimâ'îye hâlini iktisâbı), the choice of Constantinople as the imperial residence, and the partition of the Roman empire. The remainder of part one is a political history of the Eastern Roman empire from the days of the great defensive wars against Visigoths and Huns until the rise of the dynasty of Heraclius.

Part two (chapters 5-8, pp.311-324) opens with a description of the wars waged against the Arabs in Syria, Egypt and Africa and the Arabs' first siege of Constantinople, followed by an account of the Isaurian dynasty and their military reforms (İsâvrûs hanedânı: berri ve bahri tensikât-i 'askerîye). Next comes an outline of the iconoclast movement (taşvîr-şekenler), an account of the Macedonian dynasty, the final separation of the eastern church from Rome in 868 (sark kilîsâsının Romadan iftirâkı), and a section on Byzantine victories against the Bulgars and in the Caucasus.

Part three (chapters 9-11, pp.324-340) is essentially a political history from the Komnenes to the Palaeologues, completed by a chapter on the ethnographic transformation within the Byzantine empire during the latter period (Bîzâns vücûd-i siyâsisinde etnôğrafyaca haşıl olan tağayyurât ve tahavvûlât).

Part four (chapters 12-18, pp.341-391) is a description of Byzantine society and political institutions (Bîzânslılarda: hayât-i ictimâ'îye ve siyâsiye): it deals with the people, divided into freemen, slaves, colons and serfs (ehâlî: ahrâr, üsirrâ, kôlôn, serf), then with the nobility (zâdegân), followed by sections on the church (kilîsâ), the emperors (împerâtorlar), the senate (senâtô), the 'executive power' (kuvve-i icrâ'îye), the 'principle of government' (esas-i hükümet), the 'administration of government', the ministries: interior and finance (idâre-i hükümet: nezâretler: umûr-

i dâhilîye ve mâliye). Accounts of the Byzantine army and navy come next. Part four ends, not surprisingly, with some remarks about the state of morality in the Eastern Roman empire.

Part five (chapters 19-25, pp.392-438) is devoted to literature, art, and trade (Bîzâns: edebîyât, şanâ'at, ticâret). Chapter 19 focuses on Greek literature of the period between the beginning of the fourth to the middle of the seventh century; chapter 20 describes the development of Byzantine literature from the middle of the seventh to the middle of the ninth century, while chapter 21 gives an outline of the period of literary revival (edebîyâtda devr-i teceddüd) supposed to have lasted until the very end of the empire. It is followed by a sketch of the evolution of art, in particular architecture, and by an account of Byzantine art during the iconoclast period and after. *The Byzantine empire* by Mehmed Arif and Necib Asım ends with a chapter on trade and agriculture (ticâret ve felâhat), the two economic activities allegedly so fatefully unbalanced in the economy of Byzantium: 'One of the primary reasons for the decline and fall of the empire is that it did not realise that it was trade on which its economic strength was primarily based, and (consequently) had not looked out for new outlets ('roads of conquest') for Eastern and Western trade in the tenth century'.³²

The Programme

Since the above late Ottoman descriptions of Byzantine history and culture are almost entirely based on Western sources, it cannot be surprising that they reflect — partly at least — common contemporary and older European views of Byzantium such as summarised by William Lecky in 1869: 'Of that Byzantine Empire the universal verdict of history is that it constitutes, without a single exception, the most thoroughly base and despicable form that civilisation has yet assumed (. . .) There has been no other enduring civilisation so absolutely destitute of all the forms and elements of greatness, and none to which the epithet *mean* may be so emphatically applied. The Byzantine Empire was pre-eminently the age of treachery. Its vices were the vices of men who had ceased to be brave without learning to be virtuous (. . .) The history of the empire is a monotonous story of the intrigues of priests, eunuchs, and women, of poisonings, of conspiracies,

32. *Ottoman History* 437.

31. P. Grenier, *L'empire byzantin, son évolution sociale et politique*, 2 vols. (Paris 1904).

of uniform ingratitude, of perpetual fratricides.³³ But these Ottoman accounts of Byzantium are certainly not void of any originality. In particular Midhat Efendi shows independent judgements, expresses his own views, and does not hesitate to put forward various theories about the backgrounds of certain institutional similarities between both empires. The military reforms of Andronicus III, to quote only one example, are seen by Ahmed Midhat as an attempt to copy the Ottoman institution of the Janissaries — without much success, since, according to Midhat, such a thing would not work in Greek society, so lacking in virtue, but only ‘within a young nation’ (yeni bir millet içinde).³⁴ It seems justifiable, therefore, to speak here of an example of an Ottoman Turkish view of Byzantine history and culture — as distinct from Western European and, indeed, Greek interpretations of the history of the imperial predecessors of the Ottomans.

A comparison within the wider historiographical context between late Ottoman Turkish and modern Greek writing of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries dealing with the Byzantine empire presents a fascinating challenge and a wide range of questions to any student of Byzantine, Ottoman, and Modern Greek Studies. This note is intended to provide the first step in answering that challenge.

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33. W.E.H. Lecky, *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*. 2 vols. (London 1869) vol. 2, 13f.

34. *Detailed History of Modern Times* 2, 384f.

Critical Studies

‘New Art History’ vs. ‘Old History’: writing art history

ROBIN CORMACK

Readers of the judicious paper by John Haldon on ‘“Jargon” vs. “the Facts”?’ Byzantine History-Writing and Contemporary Debates’ will have looked in vain for comment on the status of visual evidence.¹ It is not that art is entirely unmentioned — a reference is made to the history of art and of cultural production in general as belonging to the history of the human past. But no consideration is given to the role of the visual as communication in Byzantine society or as a particular kind of ‘unwritten’ figural evidence which might form a characteristic arena of expression separate from the discourses of texts.² Yet it is clear that one outcome of the current theoretical debates on how to read texts and images has been a new questioning of the meanings of visual evidence and of its value in history writing. Contrary to the belief of some historians, methodological changes in history writing have a direct impact on art history writing too. The most obvious result has been an increasing emphasis on ways of understanding how images worked in Byzantine society in preference to an exclusive concentration on the categorization and arrangement of art in line with modern and often anachronistic

1. In *BMGS* 9(1984/5) 95-132.

2. This question is a key concern of Robin Cormack, *Writing in Gold. Byzantine Society and its Icons* (London 1985).

notions. The inevitable outcome is that the study of art can no longer be considered the preserve of the traditional art historian.³

The field of art history has for some years been adapting to new methods and approaches; the most sustained debates have been concerned with feminist approaches and of the analysis of the transition to modern art or 'modernism'.⁴ If 'new art history' had remained entirely concerned with these issues, perhaps Byzantine studies (with all their limitations of data) could have continued without much sensitivity to the debates. But in fact these debates impinge on wider issues and did grow out of fundamental questions which cannot be ignored in Byzantine art history. What is the relevance of the 'author' and 'patron' in understanding meanings in a work of art? What is the relation between texts and images in any society, and are they different kinds of evidence to be treated in different ways? How are works of art perceived in other societies? What is the place of religious art in society and how does it function as part of worship or belief? And so on.⁵

A review article on current writing about the visual arts in Byzantium can at best indicate how scholarship in this area too is sensitive to new questions and approaches. Through the choice of a few significant examples of recent writing, we can identify the emergence of new discourses. It is not necessary to dwell at

3. A similar point is made for Classical art history by R.R.R. Smith, 'Roman Portraits: Honours, Emperors, and Late Emperors', review article in *JRS* 75 (1985) 209-21; see also R. Osborne, 'The Myth of Propaganda and the Propaganda of Myth', *Hephaistos* 5/6 (1983/4) 61-70; for approaches towards non-European art, see R.L. Anderson, *Art in Primitive Societies* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 1979); R. Layton, *The Anthropology of Art* (London 1981); and J. Vansina, *Art History in Africa* (London 1984). See on Byzantium, G. Vikan, 'Byzantine Art as a Mirror of its Public', *Apollo* 118 (1983) 164-7.

4. For example R. Parker and G. Pollock, *Old Mistresses. Women, Art and Ideology* (London 1981); one of the writers who has in particular influenced approaches towards the 'beginning' of the Renaissance and the 'beginning' of Modernism, both being treated as periods of 'revolution' is J.-F. Lyotard, *Discours, Figure* (Paris 1971); the difficulty for the Byzantinist posed by these discussions is where their comparative interest lies (could the beginning of Christian art in Late Antiquity be seen as a 'revolution'? How does one treat a period such as that of Byzantine art which was devoid of obvious revolution?).

5. N. Hadjinicolaou, *Art History and the Class Struggle* (London 1978 — translation of the original French edition of 1973) and J. Wolff, *The Social Production of Art* (London 1981) set out the theoretical issues. More involved in stating a particular position is N. Bryson, *Vision and Painting. The Logic of the Gaze* (London 1983).

any length on books which might act as demonstrations of the traditional domain of art history, however expert the discussions within these books might be and however much they might be taken as indicating that some approaches are still alive and even apparently well. This is not the place, for example, to enter into a review of the study of Otto Demus on the mosaics of San Marco.⁶ Pleasant though it is for Byzantinists to learn that this monograph has been awarded the 'Mitchell Prize' for 1985 as the best art historical publication of the year in English, and thankful though every art historian must be that this study, conceived in the 1930s and carried out according to the most perceptive connoisseurship of 'Viennese stylistic analysis', is now available, its interest lies outside the concerns of this paper. It will be read for its 'subjective' suggestions about the dates and hands of artists, and not for its methodology. The publication is best reviewed as an exercise in attribution, and with a sympathetic assessment of the rhetoric of attribution and a detailed consideration of the empirical evidence of the surface of the tesserae; it may be excluded from further treatment here.

Most studies in 'new art history' regard the positivist treatment of works of art as something problematic.⁷ It is no doubt superficial, but nevertheless tempting, to characterize traditional art history as the study of art with a deep commitment to positivism. Perhaps this came about because of the nature of its data, which being visible and concrete may have encouraged the notion that the subject was dealing with facts which could 'speak' for themselves. Or perhaps the search for academic respectability as a discipline, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon world, encouraged the development of an empirical approach to art. The reasons for the directions taken by art history are, however, now ques-

6. O. Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco* (Chicago 1985). Until more archaeological information is published about the mosaics, controversy will no doubt continue over the extent of medieval and restored areas and about the relative order of the mosaic phases (as, for example, in the east dome). In a review of this book in *TLS* (1985), C. Mango suggested a historical interpretation for the relative quantity of Byzantine mosaics in Italy: that the vast amount of work done there indicated that the medium of mosaic was an 'export' from Byzantium, and less important within its own society. This inference from the surviving material seems to me as odd as saying that in Classical Greece the importance of the production of Attic pottery lay in its export to Italy. But one sees that the challenges to the study by Demus of San Marco is as likely to come from positivistic 'archaeological' art history as from elsewhere.

7. I am using terms in the senses defined by Haldon, as in note 1.

tions of modern intellectual history. But the consequence of these empirical and pragmatic interests have somehow been that the subject has developed its own hermetic language and constructed a discourse of perceived problems and issues which have been debated within charmed circles of privileged observers. Yet in Byzantine studies, several historians have resisted the lure of this private language and effectively used art as part of a wider cultural analysis. The most successful has been Cyril Mango, while taking an unashamedly positivistic approach.⁸ No other scholar has so brilliantly deployed visual evidence in the study of Byzantium. Yet his quest — to find the ‘reality’ of Byzantium through a curtain (or ‘distorting mirror’) of art and literature — seems to be aiming for the impossible; it rests on an assumption that ‘facts’ are an uncomplicated kind of thing.

The greatest unresolved problem in undertaking art historical study is the same as in other history writing: how does one find the satisfactory relation between theory and the empirical recording of data? How can knowledge of the past be prevented from evolving into antiquarianism? To question the values involved in the popular activity of dating and attribution of works of art involves rethinking the nature of ‘facts’ and the value of dating works of art. This consideration is one (but not the only) reason for a questioning of an emphasis in art historical study on ‘style’ in favour of a greater concern with ‘iconography’. The most self-conscious example of this approach is in the work of Walter.⁹

There is one obvious attraction in confronting the history of Byzantine art as the history of ‘content’ rather than ‘style’: it alters modern views of the significant factors in recognizing and

8. See C. Mango, *Byzantinum. The Empire of New Rome* (London 1980) and his collected essays *Byzantium and its image* (Variorum reprints 1984). See his own statement in the preface of the latter (ii): ‘The task of the Byzantine historian is to identify the layers of distortion — some of them clear and palpable, others barely perceptible, yet all the more insidious — and to peel them away in order to uncover the reality beneath. I hope I shall not be charged with excessive positivism in assuming that such a reality exists and that it can be apprehended to some extent, even if our understanding of it is inevitably conditioned by the gradual shift in our own viewpoint’. For comments on Mango (among others) see A. Kazhdan in collaboration with S. Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge 1984) esp 1-22, ‘Approaches to the history of Byzantine civilisation: from Krause to Beck and Mango’.

9. Esp. Christopher Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church* (London 1982): see his statements in the *Introduction*, 1-6. Other papers are collected in the Variorum Reprint, C. Walter, *Studies in Byzantine Iconography* (London 1977).

explaining change. Take for example the beginning of the Christian art in Late Antiquity. Treated as ‘style’, the first centuries of Christian art are deeply mystifying for the art historian, for the impact of the new religion is scarcely visible in the evidence, and any developments are apparently related more to factors of politics than religion. It is in the meanings and locations of pictorial art that change is to be understood. Walter’s insights into the development of Middle Byzantine art likewise involve a criticism of the stylistic view. He criticizes the idea that the significant episode in post-Iconoclast art is the ‘movement’ of the tenth century affectionately called the ‘Macedonian Renaissance’. For Walter this is to suppose that the quite fortuitous merging of the taste of a tiny elite of Constantinopolitan society in the tenth century with a modern ‘elitist’ taste for Classical art represents a significant time of innovation. His contrary view is that the eleventh century formed a ‘watershed’ in the course of Byzantine art.

Walter aims to characterize features of Middle Byzantine art and the changes which occurred in the period. His argument is that Iconoclasm had a deep impact on the development of Byzantine culture; as a result of what must from the ninth century have been perceived as the triumph of the church over the emperor, Christ was gradually visualized more in terms of the universal patriarch than, as previously, in terms of the universal ruler. This interpretation implies shifts of power and influence away from emperor, and a corresponding rise of the authority of the church, reflected and enhanced in the imagery of church ceremonial and its bishops. Walter characterizes this change as the ‘clericalisation’ of art and culture and dates its dominance from the eleventh century.

A feature of the discourse of Walter is his use of the vocabulary of semiology, something which he justified in a study in which art is treated as ‘a language of means of communication’. Yet his arguments seldom develop any structuralist position, and his diachronic interpretation of the course of the visual arts in Byzantium follows a traditional pattern. His use of the term ‘sign’ may on occasion mean little more than ‘attribute’. But pragmatism, it may be said, is one way of progressing in historical argument! However there is a difficulty over treating signs as distinct entities of ‘iconography’: the relation between signifier and signified

still needs more careful consideration, something to which Walter has since turned some attention.¹⁰ Walter is not the only scholar to have considered this sort of problem; issues raised by the 'dichotomy' of forms and meanings were previously stated and faced by Cutler, although much of his discussion is devoted to visual origins, continuities and changes.¹¹ Belting also has treated questions of content and form, taking the evidence of images which he suggests were developed to enhance the liturgy;¹² the question of how images serve the liturgy is the subject of a recent important theoretical study.¹³

Since the antiquarian activity of the establishment of dates of works as an end in itself is just the kind of exercise which 'new art history' is likely to criticise, one would expect to see alternative strategies now appearing for handling the data. One possibility is to take a 'historical' view of the strings of the dates which have been proposed and offer interpretations of the broader chronological patterns. One predictable type of study along these lines in Byzantium is to look at change (or the lack of it), as indeed Walter has already done. This sort of study traditionally involves a polarity set up by the concepts of 'innovation' or 'continuity'; but the traditional discussion has often been pursued without sufficient sensitivity to the problems raised by these notions with the result that the conclusions may be implicit in the initial assumptions. The most recent study of Byzantine art over a period of time by A.P. Kazhdan and A.W. Epstein *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*

10. C. Walter, 'Expressionism and Hellenism. A Note on Stylistic Tendencies in Byzantine Figurative Art from Spätantike to the Macedonian 'Renaissance'', *REB* 42 (1984) 265-87.

11. A. Cutler, *Transfigurations. Studies in the Dynamics of Byzantine Iconography* (Pennsylvania State University 1975). In the same year E. Kitzinger gave the Slade Lectures at Cambridge University dedicated to analysing the meaningfulness of visual forms themselves in the belief that the formal aspects of works of art hold important clues to understanding the period which produced them; see E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making. Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art 3rd-7th Century* (London 1977) esp 1-6.

12. H. Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter. Form und Funktion Früher Bildtafeln der Passion* (Berlin 1981); see also the version of part of this book, 'An Image and its Function in the Liturgy: the Man of Sorrows in Byzantium', *DOP* 34-5 (1980-1) 1-16.

13. S. Sinding-Larsen, *Iconography and Ritual. A Study of Analytical Perspectives* (Oslo 1985).

(Berkeley 1985) is an obvious test case in which the current discourse of the approach may be examined.¹⁴

Kazhdan and Epstein describe their authorial partnership as the collaborative effort of a historian and art historian, and they see themselves as working in 'neighbouring disciplines'. Their aim is jointly to build a synthetic interpretation of the cultural development of Byzantium. In other words their method does not involve distinguishing history writing as it might be constructed through literary evidence or through visual evidence, or how the verbal and visual might function as separate forms of expression within the culture. Instead they try to characterize what is 'new' about their period predominantly through the evidence of primary literary materials and art. They treat the evidence of literature and art as 'reflections of the broader patterns of the culture'. This view of art is, in my view, neglectful of the powers invested in symbols and of the ways in which images, once made, evoke interpretations and reactions among their audience. Byzantine icons are, in this book, once again taken as static images rather than as active elements in society. Nevertheless, whatever initial qualifications its readers have, it is at once obvious that few books on Byzantine subjects rely on such a range of evocative texts or attempt the broad generalisation.

The conception of the Byzantine empire which unfolds in this book will come as no surprise to the specialist reader, for it was already blocked out in the book by A. Kazhdan and G. Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium. An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies* (Washington D.C. 1982).¹⁵ Indeed a knowledge of the earlier book with its broader canvas may sometimes detract from the interest of the present one, which aims to be more focussed and precise; for what was provocative and stimulating in *People and Power* is in danger of looking tired and dogmatic on repetition. This may always be the fate of the grand generalisation on its second appearance! With its re-

14. There is a previous treatment of continuity by A. Kazhdan and A. Cutler, 'Continuity and Discontinuity in Byzantine History', *Byzantion* 52 (1982) 429-78.

15. J. Haldon, as note 1, refers to this book (p. 127, note 33a), while also hinting that it might belong to the category of a 'fashionable reworking of the material within the traditional empiricist paradigm'. This seems to me broadly justifiable, but it does less than justice to the methodological suggestions made in chapter eight ('In search of Indirect Information'), although it may be that these suggestions are not yet worked through by the authors.

appearance one idea seemed to me particularly forced. This is the characterisation of Ancient society which appears in both books as a perspective against which change in Byzantium should be appreciated, leading to the identification of a major shift in social life between Antiquity and the Middle Ages.¹⁶ It is stated that society in Antiquity was open and public, whereas life in the Byzantine Middle Ages became closed and private. The difficulty about polarising Byzantium into such a clear-cut framework is the possible scope for caricature. Though one hesitates to say with this authorship that this is a sexist and romantic view of Antiquity, yet this is certainly a possible instant reaction which they must anticipate: their characterization of Antiquity does not take into account the status and image of women and so must inevitably distort the extreme contrast made with the Middle Ages. Women in fifth-century Athens, for example, would surely reject any notion that they lived in an open society!

The framework in which Kazhdan and Epstein illustrate their view of Byzantium soon raises basic questions for the art historian. Is the book fundamentally about *change*? What is the meaning given to *culture*? The authors do not explicitly define their terms, but just allow meanings to emerge operationally. Their book might be described as a characterisation of what they believe is 'new' and distinctive in the eleventh and twelfth centuries compared with earlier centuries in Byzantium or with Antiquity or with the Medieval West; but so long as their discussion is focussed on Byzantium in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the comparisons cannot be fully explored. Likewise all the possible meanings of the term 'culture' are not recognized. The result is that culture means very different things at various points in the book; it may convey the character of everyday life, including diet, or it may convey, at the other extreme, the high artistic environment of the Byzantine aristocracy. Yet the nature of changes in high culture must be quite different from those at the lower level, and until the distinctions are made, the concepts of change and continuity cannot be clear or constructive.

The omission of discussion on 'change' reduces the potential precision of the argument — the study by Walter has more to

say on the questions.¹⁷ The limitations of the book in dealing with the inherent complexities of change is seen, to take one example, in the superficial treatment of the Senate (69ff). In the Byzantine senate we have a striking case of an institution which on the one hand might be said to illustrate a continuity from the Roman Republic, yet which on the other had changed its ideological meaning.¹⁸ Until change is analysed more carefully, it is impossible to understand without anachronism such ideas as the 'eclecticism of classicizing images of the tenth century' (p.142), 'conservatism of medieval society' (p.166) or to make any kind of constructive interpretation of the ways in which Byzantium undoubtedly manipulated the past. It is difficult to sum up the ways in which the authors believe the visual arts to have changed in the designated period; mention is made of 'technological' change in the production of glass (p.42) and of the replacement of the use of ivory by steatite in the twelfth century (p.45), but these examples are used only as part of an argument that the economic relationships between Constantinople and the provinces was changing at the time and that decentralisation was a feature of the period. The general categories within which changes are located (ideal to ordinary, abstraction to naturalism, impersonal to personal etc) may be useful signposts, but, unless explained, they do not enlighten the traveller.

Any attempt to describe the current state of art history writing is able to point to all manner of problems and difficulties in its handling of visual evidence. Such criticisms no longer need to be limited to questions of 'fact' or disagreements over sources or influences. Changes in art history can most easily be demonstrated by these changes in the conceptual status of its criticism. This can only be a healthy sign.

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17. For a sketch of some of the currently influential writings which confront the problems of describing and explaining historical change see some of the contributions to Q. Skinner, *The Return of the Grand Theory in the Human Sciences* (Cambridge 1985).

18. The changing dimensions of power in the Roman Senate and the subtleties necessary for their analysis are well discussed in S. Martin, 'Images of Power: the Imperial Senate', *JRS* (1985) 222-228.

16. Most specifically in *Change*, p.3.

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